

Loanwords in Temne: A Study of the Sources  
and Processes of Lexical Borrowing in a  
Sierra Leonean Language

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## ABSTRACT

Loanwords from other African as well as non-African languages form a substantial part of the Temne lexicon. Despite the importance of loanwords in historical and comparative linguistics however, the study of loanwords in African languages has received inadequate attention in the past, and there has been a lack of comprehensive case-studies into the sources and processes of borrowing within individual African languages, involving inter-African loanwords as well as loanwords from European languages and/or Arabic. The present thesis is designed to provide such a comprehensive case-study, based on Temne, the major language of northern Sierra Leone and the writer's mother-tongue.

The first chapter is an introduction to Temne language and society. A majority of words borrowed into Temne from other African languages relate to the cultural institutions of the Temne and it has been necessary to provide cultural as well as linguistic data in examining the assimilation of these loanwords. The following methodological introduction discusses the problems of the historical study of an unwritten language, together with a proposed methodology for the identification of loanwords in Temne,

The source languages are discussed under chapters with introductory sections on the phonology of each language and on the historical and cultural contacts between the Temne and speakers of each language. Loanwords are arranged and discussed under separate semantic categories, demonstrating the areas of culture where each source language has had its greatest impact. Items from Manding, Susu and Fula (and from Arabic via these languages) illustrate the impact of Islam on traditional Temne culture, while items from Mende relate largely to the major Temne 'secret' societies. Limba and Bullom are dealt with briefly. The final chapters cover non-Sierra Leonean sources, i.e. English/Krio and Portuguese, involving mainly trade and technology, but having little impact on indigenous culture, together with Yoruba, introduced via Krio, involving 'secret' society terminology.

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## CONVENTIONS

A capital letter immediately before a source item indicates, wherever necessary, the source language:

- A. Arabic
- B. Bullom
- E. English
- F. Fula
- K. Krio
- L. Limba
- M. Manding
- Me. Mende
- P. Portuguese
- S. Susu
- Te. Temne
- Y. Yoruba (via Krio)
- SY. Yoruba (Modern standard)

> or < derived from (in direction of loan)

→ replaced by

: corresponds (phonologically) to

= Verbal stem in Temne

- Nominal or adjectival (non-verbal) stem in Temne

~ Extension suffix

Phonemic orthography for African languages, spelling orthography for European languages and Arabic (unless phonetic orthography in square brackets).

English glosses are cited with a capitalised initial.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### 1 INTRODUCTION TO TEMNE LANGUAGE AND SOCIETY

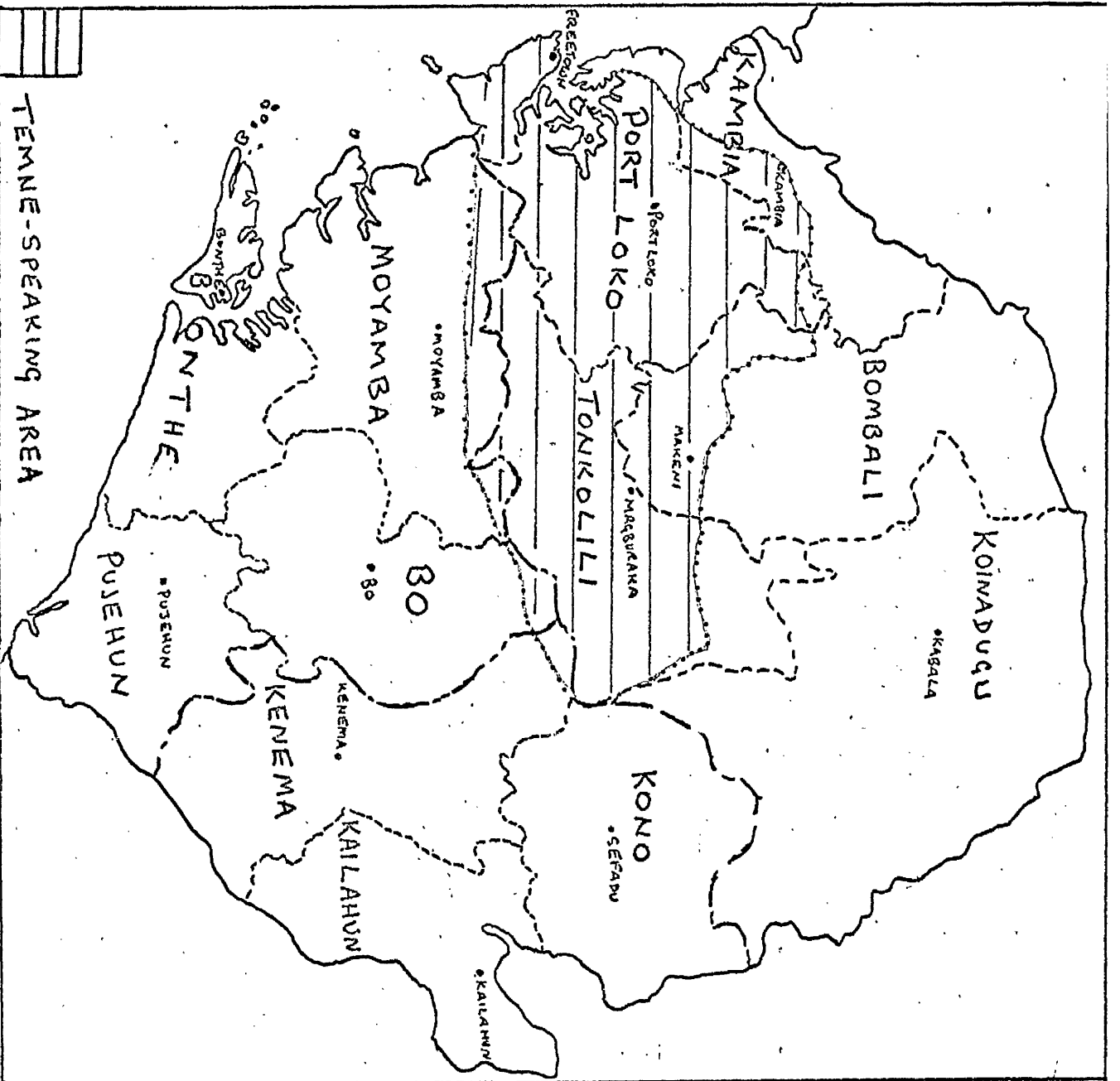
#### 1.1 Temne: Related Languages and Geographical Location

Temne /ká-thémnè/ is the major language spoken in Northern Sierra Leone, with about 648,931 native speakers.<sup>1</sup> It is also used as a second language among other ethnic groups in the Northern Province, making the total number of speakers of Temne probably over 800,000. Temne is one of a group of class languages known as 'Mel'<sup>2</sup> spoken in Guinea, Sierra Leone and Liberia: Landuma and Baga (spoken in Guinea), form, with Temne, the northernmost sub-group of these languages, the other members being Bullom, Krim, Kissi and Gola. The Temne today occupy a wide area in the centre of Sierra Leone stretching eastwards from Port Loko and Kambia Districts into southern Bombali and Tonkolili Districts, sharing a common boundary with the Mende to the south of them. The Limba, Loko and Susu form the northern neighbours of the Temne.

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1. This is the figure recorded in the Official Census figures of April 1963.

2. D. Dalby, 'The Mel Languages: A Reclassification of Southern West Atlantic', African Language Studies, VI, 1965, pp. 1-17.





## 1.2 Dialects

Five regional dialects have been distinguished. The differences are mostly lexical and, in the case of the Kunike dialect, in tonology also; there are also minor phonological variations in the Yoni dialect.

### 1.2.1 Western, including two sub-dialects:

- a) North Western is spoken in the North West of Port Loko and Kambia Districts, including Koya and Freetown peninsular area. This dialect contains more Arabic and Manding/Susu-derived words than any other Temne dialect. Over half of the Susu speakers in Sierra Leone live in Kambia and Port Loko Districts, these being also the most Islamised of all Temne-speaking areas in Sierra Leone.  
/kà-sándá/
- b) Sanda is spoken in Western Bombali and Eastern Port Loko Districts, in the grassland areas where many Fula herdsmen and Koranic teachers have settled, intermarrying with the Temne. This accounts for the occurrence of a larger number of Fula words in this dialect than the others.

1.22 Bombali /kə-gbàmbàlí/ is spoken in Southern Bombali District. It is more cosmopolitan than other dialects in terms of items received, containing a wider range of vocabulary from all the surrounding languages (Manding, Fula, Limba, Mende, Susu).

1.23 Yoni /kə-Yíní/ is spoken in southern Tonkolili and the south-east border of Port Loko District, being strongly influenced by Mende and Bullom. In pronunciation, it has certain palatal phonemes /ʃ/ and /ʒ/, corresponding to /s/ and /t/ in other dialects, as well as the semi-vowel /y/ before the front vowels /i/ /e/ and /ɛ/, corresponding to /w/ in other dialects, e.g.

<u>Other Dialects</u>		<u>Yoni</u>
w-ìr	Goat	y-ìr
w-èr	Mouse	y-èr
w-èk	Wring	y-èk

1.24 Western Kunike<sup>1</sup> is spoken in central Tonkolili, its vocabulary being generally similar to that of Yoni.

---

1. Speakers of Western Kunike do not refer to their dialect as kə-kònké, in the same way as kə-sándá <sup>by its own speakers</sup> is not used <sup>^</sup> for the North Western dialect (see 1.21).



1.25 Eastern Kunike /kə-kònké/ is spoken in eastern Tonkolili  
1.27 Eastern Kunike /kə-kònké/ is spoken in eastern Tonkolili

District, with Kuranko and Kono as neighbouring languages.

Other speakers of Temne often find it difficult to understand this dialect, semantic divergences between Eastern Kunike and other dialects being a principal reason for this, e.g.

Other Dialects

ʒ-sà Buttocks

kə-tit Vagina

E. Kunike

ʒ-sà Vagina

kə-tit Buttocks

Some words occurring in Eastern Kunike are known only to older speakers of the other dialects, e.g. Kunike ḡ-árá, Door, =ḡàrí Open. A major characteristic of Kunike, both Eastern and Western, is that it has a low tone in caes where the other dialects have a falling tone in the final syllable:

<u>Other Dialects</u>		<u>Kunike</u>
kè-dàré	Door	kè-dàré
à-sébé	Amulet	à-sébé
à-póthi	Cup	à-póthi

There are no major grammatical differences among the Temne dialects.

### 1.3 Structure of Temne

This description is not exhaustive, including only those details which are significant in the identification of loanwords. Thus the phonology includes the consonant and vowel charts, useful in the establishment of sound correspondences, while the list of positional occurrences and the statement on syllabic and tonal structures help in establishing those features which are usually found



only in loanwords. The dialect described below is Bombali, the most centrally located and also the writer's own idiolect. The consonant and vowel phonemes are shown in the accompanying charts, using the conventional Temne orthographic symbols.

### 1.3| Consonants

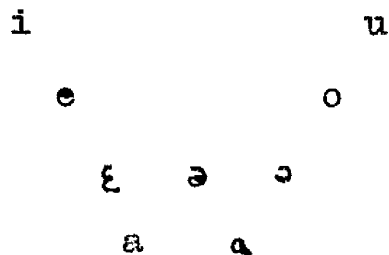
	BI-LABIAL	LABIO-DENTAL	ALVEO-DENTAL	ALVEOLAR	PALATAL	VELAR	LABIO-VELAR	GLOTTAL
Plosives	p	b	th	t	d (t̪)	k	gb	ʔ
Affricates								
Fricatives		f		s	(s̺)			h
Nasals		m			n		ŋ	
Laterals					l			
Roll					r			
Semi-vowels		w				y		

- 1) [t̪<sup>p</sup>] and [ʃ] sometimes occur as allophonic variants of /t/ and /s/ respectively, before the front vowels /i/, /e/ or /ɛ/.
- 2) /ŋ/ is homorganic before C,

3) /ʔ/ and /h/ occur only in loanwords

4) /w/ before /i/ /e/ or /ɛ/ occurs as /y/ in Yoni.

### 1.32 Vowels



/a/ sometimes occurs as an allophone of /ɔ/ in Yoni, e.g.

#### General

k-ímô

Smoke

mémó

Thanks

=wònth

Grass

#### Yoni

k-ímâ

mámá

=wànth

Vowels occur initially only as controlling prefixes, with long vowels occurring only as a form of emphasis and in idio<sup>e</sup>phones, e.g.

ǎ-ǎbɛ́th He screamed, but ǎ-ǎbɛ́ɛ́th He screamed hard

ù-bàná He is big, but ù-bánáá He is very big.

ò-bólí It is far, but ò-bólí póóŋ It is very far.

# 1.33 Positional Occurrence of Consonant Phonemes in Simplex Stems

## 1.33.1 Simple Consonants

	<u>Initial</u>	<u>Medial</u>	<u>Final</u>
/p/	=pim Pluck	k-upâ Feather	kà-lèp Back of the neck
/b/	à-bòk Snake	kà-bèbí Doll	=báb Have a hair cut
/th/	=thékê s Learn	=wéthá Squeeze	à-sèth House
/t/	=tâm Chew	=gbàtô Surround	kà-fot Froth
/d/	=dì Eat	ù-fadé Enemy	=kád Dribble (of football)
/k/	=kòm Bear	<del>r-éké</del> Rice flour <del>r-ám</del> <del>Waxes</del>	à-bòk Snake
/gb/	=gbép Climb	à-yàgbâ Worry	_____
/f/	=fèy Blow	à-mèfè Groin	=thuf Spit
/s/	=sèl Laugh	=rúsêm Train	=bìs Dig
/m/	=mùn Drink	kà-thímâ Fishing- net	=lòm Count
/n/	=nàl Insult	=kánê Report	=tèn Tremble
/ŋ/	=ŋál Warn	kà-sáyá Height	=màŋ Caution
/l/	=lòŋ Spill	=kùlô Weep	=pól Clap
/r/	=ràp Prostitute oneself	à-mùrù Rubbish heap	à-sár Stone



	<u>Initial</u>	<u>Medial</u>	<u>Final</u>
/w/	=wày Buy	=káwándí Preach	_____
/y/	=yô Do, perform	=mùyû Put up with, bear	à-káy Bush
/h/	à-hákè Sin	_____	_____
/ʔ/	è-ʔàsòbí Similar dress	_____	_____

### 1.332 Nasal Compounds

/mp/	_____	=bémpá Make	rè-bómp Head
/mb/	_____	kè-rémbó Cassava leaf	_____
/nth/	_____	kè-bènthí	kè-bánth Bone
/ nt/	_____	à-sántèk Finger or toe nail	à-bènt Odour
/nd/	_____	è-sándal Sandals	à-kānd <sup>1</sup> Ground nut
/nk/	_____	à-bónká Bay	à-kùnk Fence
/ gb/	_____	à-sángbá Drum sp.	_____

1. à-kānd is a contraction of à-káy'tár.

1.333

~~1.333~~ Consonant Clusters

These occur only initially in stems borrowed from English/Krio:

- /pl/      =plék (E. Pledge) Pawn
- /kl/      ù-klâk (E. Clerk) Typist, secretary, educated African
- /bl/      à-blû Laundry blue
- /fl/      kə-flût Flute
- /sl/      =slâp (E. Slap) Strike on the face
- /pr/      à-prê s (E. Price) Cost, value
- /tr/      à-trît Street, motorway
- /kr/      ɛ-krêp (E. Crepe) Canvass shoes
- /br/      kə-brêd Bread
- /dr/      =dráb Drive a vehicle
- /fr/      =frây (E. Fry) Cook in oil
- /sp/      =spík (E. Speak) Speak English, talk Temne in affected  
manner
- /sth/      `a-sthûl (E. Stool) Low wooden seat for a single  
person
- /sk/      =skólá (Convergence E. Scold + Collar) Hold by the  
collar

Consonant clusters may occur in indigenous complex stems as a result of

- a) the addition of an extension suffix to a simplex stem e.g.

=dìm Loose	=dìmsî Put out, wipe off
=fòf Speak	=fóflá Speak in low voice

- b) compounding or reduplication of nominal stems as in,

ù-kás Father	ù-kásbôm Grandfather
--------------	----------------------

### 1.34 Tone

The following tonal contrasts, (marked on V of CV/CVC syllable or V of grammatical element) occur in Temne:

High /

Low \

Falling ^

Rising v

Downstep ' ( inter-segmental)

### 1.341 Tone-Patterns

The following tone-patterns may occur in controlled stems:

<u>Monosyllables</u>	<u>Nominal</u>	<u>Verbal</u>
High	rè-ká Something	=bá Have
Low	kè-tà Hand	=bà Lay eggs
Falling	à-sêth House	= yô Do

<u>Monosyllabic</u>	<u>Nominal</u>	<u>Verbal</u>
Rising	kə-bǒ Bread	—
Downstep	à-sǎ'1 Finger	—
 <u>Disyllabic</u>		
HH	kə-gbára'á Nut	=bám pá Make
HL	à-fé rǎ Opportunity,	=rénsà Stand on
HF	ǎ-tírá Female	
	stranger	=nésâ Fear
LL	à-rékà Paper	—
LH	à-gbasá Headtie	—
LF	k-àró Wooden bowl	=sò thô Obtain

### 1.35 Morphology

#### 1.351 Controlling Elements

Temne is a class language operating a system of prefixes as controlling elements (CEs) whereby words that are grammatically related in certain ways contain elements which indicate that they are related. The majority of lexical items in Temne occur regularly with prefixed CEs, which may have nominal, adjectival, locative or verbal functions.

- 
1. See D. Dalby, 'Lexical Analysis in Temne', Journal of West African Languages, 3, 2, 1966, pp. 5-25. His numbering and lettering systems are used in this thesis.



The nominal prefixes in Temne are as follows:

O <sup>1</sup> Singular animate	ù-bày Chief
A <sup>1</sup> Singular (animate and inanimate)	à-tó'kó Chicken, à-thís Knife
A <sup>2</sup> Plural animate	à-bày Chiefs
E Plural (animate and inanimate)	è-tó'kó Chickens, è-thís Knives
O <sup>2</sup> Abstract	ò-tánk Cold
K Singular	kè-bâp Axe
R Singular inanimate	rè-pól Rope, r-ùamá Shirt
T/S Plural inanimate	tè-bâp Axes, s-ùamá Shirts
N Plural inanimate	nè-pól Ropes
M Plural/Collective	mè-sár Stones, m-ànt Water
P Collective	pé-lá Rice, p-éndé Millet

### 1.352 Singular/Plural Class Pairs

The nominal controlling elements combine in the following singular/plural pairs of classes;

I O<sup>1</sup>/A<sup>2</sup> Human Beings

ù-bày Chief	à-bày Chiefs
ù-kèy Thief	à-kèy Thieves
ù-tík Stranger	à-tík Strangers

## II $O^1/T$ Large Animals

ù-nà Cow

tà-nà Cows

ù-síp Leopard

tà-síp Leopards

ủ-bắη Buffalo

tà-bay Buffaloes

### III A<sup>1</sup>/E Animate and Inanimate

'a-bâmp Bird

## É-câmp Birds

à-lôṅ Ear

'ε-187 s Ears

À-sêth House

## É-sêth Houses

IV      A<sup>1</sup>/M      Inanimate

à-sɛ' ní Needle

mà-sé' ní Needles

À-sár Stone

mā-sār Stones

à-lónk Arm

mā-lónk Arms<sup>1</sup>

$$V \quad K/T$$

kà-bâp Axe

tê-bâp Axes

kà-pét Town

tà-pét Towns

kə-fənt Bed

tê-fânt Beds

1. Some items relating to plants and fruits are under both pairs III (including plants and trees) and IV (fruits)

e.g.,    à-rókê's Lemon    2-rókê's Lemon trees,    mà-rókê's Lemon  
fruit

à-lónthó Okro ~~ka~~-lónthó (plant) mà-lónthó  
(fruit)

VI	R/T	
	rə-wòthó Baboon	tə-wòthó Baboons
	rə-bómp Head	tə-bómp Heads
	rə-bém Rabbit	tə-bém Rabbits
VII	R/S (as integral prefixes)	
	r-óṅ Road	s-óṅ Roads
	r-ù má Shirt	s-ù má Shirts
	r-ì m Voice	s-ì m Voices
VIII	R/E	
	rə-məs Egg	è-məs Eggs
	rə-fà r Eye	è-fà r Eyes
	rə-sék Tooth	è-sék Teeth
IX	R/N	
	rə-pól Rope	nə-pól Ropes
	rə-béjà String	nə-béjà Strings
	rə-túl Raffia	nə-túl Strings of raffia
X	/M	
	mə-bèr Palm wine, alcohol	
	mə-láp Shame	
	mə-tìr Blood	

XI /S

s-ònt Pubic hair

s-èká Stew, vegetable curry

s-áthkà Offering

XII /E

è-lés Lace cloth ( K. les)

è-pétikùl Spectacles (K. petikul)

è-thànbây Sandal sp. ( K. tanbay, 'Stand By')

XIII /P

pè-yàká Rice sp. ( Me. jaka )

p-élá Rice (generic) ( L. pagala)

pè-sîd Rice (generic) ( E. Seed)

No indigenous items have been noted under ~~class~~  
~~pairs~~ XII and XIII.

### 1.36 Extension Suffixes

Temne operates a system of extension suffixes, one or more of which may be added to a simplex verbal<sup>stem</sup> to form a complex radical resulting in modifications to the meaning of the simplex radical. Two types of extension suffixes are outlined below, simplex extension suffixes and complex extension suffixes comprising a combination of one or more simplex suffixes.

#### 1.361 Simplex Extension Suffixes

##### 1. Instrumental ~â

=gbàl Write

=gbàlâ Write for s.o. or

=díf Kill

=dífâ Kill by means of s.t.

To avoid a VV structure, /n/ occurs before the ~â extension suffix (ES) if the radical ends in the vowels /ɔ/ or /a/;

=kò Go

=kòâ Go instead of ...

=bá Take along

=bànâ Take along for s.o.

If the radical ends in /u/, then /w/ occurs between the radical and the ES;

=sù Collect rain water

=súwâ Collect water with..

=rù Plait hair

=rúwâ Plait hair for ...



## 2. Reflexive ~â

=sòp Rub

=sópâ Rub on oneself

=gbàý Smash

=gbáyâ Smash (by itself)

This ES, when used with an adjectival radical has the meaning 'to become';

-lós Bad

=lósâ Become bad

\*-thés<sup>1</sup> Beautiful

=thésâ Become beautiful

-fíth Blind

=fíthâ Go blind

## 3. Instrumental ~b̂

=gbâ1 Sweep

à-gbâ1s Broom (that used for sweeping)

=dì Eat

kè-dìyó Right hand (that used for eating)

=bòm Defecate

kè-bòm's Anus

## 4. Directional ~âr

This has the meanings 'to', 'at', 'from', or 'on', depending on the context;

=gbâl Write

=gbâlâr Write to

=súth Shoot

=súthâr Shoot at

=bâ Borrow

=bâr Borrow from

=fánthà Lie

=fánthâr Lie on

---

1. See 9.4b for discussion of this reconstructed form.

5. Reversive ~î (Transitive)

=ɣàɣ Bite	=ɣájî Open (mouth)
=gbàk Hang	=gbákî Unhang
=sùnt Cork	=súntî Uncork

6. Iterative ~ê (Patterned Repetition)

=yîf Ask	=yîfê Interrogate, investigate
=wày Buy	=wàyê Shop
=pày Jump	=pàyê Skip

7. Iterative ~êth<sup>1</sup> (Random Repetition)

=yîf Ask	=yîfêth Ask questions at random.
=dîf Kill	=dîfêth Kill at random
=sòp Rub	=sópêth Rub all over

- 
1. W.A.A. Wilson, An Outline Of The Temne Language, London, 1961, treats the iteratives ~ê and ~êth as 'by-forms' of a single suffix. It is however clear from their semantic differences that they should be treated separately.

8 Causative ~(ə)s

=sàk Dawn, understand

=tèmp Be clever, wise

=làp Be ashamed, shy

=sókêś Make s.o. understand

=tèmpêś Teach s.o. to be  
clever, teach s.o. a  
lesson (with negative  
meaning)

=làpêś Disgrace

9. Reflexive ~ nê

=mànk Hide

=gbàk Hang

=dif Kill

=màknê Hide or conceal o.s.

=gbàknê Hang o.s.

=difnê Kill o.s. , commit  
suicide

Reciprocal  
10. ~~Retrospective~~ ~ánê

=kólî Look

=fòf Talk

=mâr Help

=kàliyánê Look at each other

=fòfánê Talk to each other

=màránê Help each other

### 1.362 Complex Extension Suffixes

The following suffixes are combinations of one or more of the simplex suffixes. The numbers in brackets refer to the numbers of the simplex suffixes as listed in 1.361.

1.  $\sim \hat{i} (5) + \sim \hat{a} (1) : \hat{i}y\hat{a}$   
 $=s\grave{u}nt$  Cork       $=s\grave{u}nt\hat{i}$  Uncork       $=s\grave{u}nt\hat{i}y\hat{a}$  Uncork for
2.  $\sim \hat{e}th (7) + \sim \hat{a} (1) : \hat{e}th\hat{a}$   
 $=y\grave{i}f$  Ask       $=y\grave{i}f\hat{e}th$  Ask       $=y\grave{i}f\hat{e}th\hat{a}$  Investigate  
    repeatedly      on behalf of
3.  $\sim \hat{e}s (6) + \sim \hat{a} (1) : \hat{e}s\hat{a}$   
 $=p\grave{o} + \sim \hat{a} (1) : \hat{e}s\hat{a}$  Finish off,  $=p\grave{o}y\hat{e}s\hat{a}$  End something  
    for s.o.
4.  $\sim \hat{a} (1) + n\hat{e} (9) : \acute{a}n\hat{e}$  (cf. Simplex suffix 11)  
 $=f\grave{o}f$  Speak       $=f\acute{o}f\hat{a}$  Speak for       $=f\acute{o}f\hat{a}n\hat{e}$  Speak for  
    oneself
5.  $\sim \hat{e}r (4) + \sim n\hat{e} (9) : \hat{e}r\hat{n}\hat{e}$   
 $=s\acute{u}th$  Shoot       $=s\acute{u}th\hat{e}r$  Shoot at       $=s\acute{u}th\hat{e}r\hat{n}\hat{e}$  Shoot  
    oneself

6.  $\sim(\hat{e})s$  (6) +  $\sim n\hat{e}$  (9) :  $\sim(\hat{e})sn\hat{e}$   
 =láp Be ashamed      =lápêš Shame s.o.  
    =lápésnê Put oneself in disgrace
7.  $\sim(\hat{e})th$  (7) +  $\sim n\hat{e}$  (9) :  $\sim(\hat{e})thn\hat{e}$   
 =fóf Talk      =fófêth Grumble, nag  
    fófthnê Talk incessantly to oneself
8.  $\sim(\hat{e})s$  (6) +  $\sim \acute{a}n\hat{e}$  (10) :  $\sim(\hat{e})s\acute{a}n\hat{e}$   
 =lém Throw      =lémêš Throw stones  
    =lémèsánê Stone one another
9.  $\sim(\hat{e})th$  (7) +  $\sim \acute{a}n\hat{e}$  (10) :  $\sim(\hat{e})th\acute{a}n\hat{e}$   
 =dif Kill      =difêth Kill at random  
    =difèthánê Kill one another
10.  $\sim(\hat{e})r$  (4) +  $\sim \acute{a}n\hat{e}$  (10) :  $\sim(\hat{e})r\acute{a}n\hat{e}$   
 =gbal Write      =gbalêr Write to  
    =gbalèránê Write to each other



11. ~(ə)s (6) + ~â (1) + ~nê (9) : ~(ə)sa'nê  
 =wâys Shop                      =wâysâ Shop for  
    =wâysánê Shop for oneself

12. ~(ə)th (7) + ~â (1) + ~nê (9) : ~(ə)thánê  
 =yifâth Investigate  
 =yifâthâ Investigate for  
 =yifâthánê Investigate for oneself

13. ~(ə)r (4) + ~â (1) + ~nê (9) : ~(ə)ránê  
 =yîrà Sit                      =yîrêr Sit on  
 =yîràrà Sit on for  
 yîrêránê Sit on for oneself i.e. Be selfish, greedy

## 1.4 Historical Background

1.41 The origin<sup>of the Temne</sup> is not known, even though one often gets from the Temne, when questioned about their origin, the answer that they originally came to their present location from an area to the northeast of present-day Temnoland (ró-thórò, North-east). The Temne belief that all their chiefs originate from Futa (Jallon) which lies north-east of them, as well as the distribution of the Mel languages around the Futa Jallon territory, strengthens the possibility of Futa Jallon being the original homeland of the Northern Mel (including Temne). The southward push of the Susu after their defeat by the Manding in 1233 (see 3.12) may have been the original reason for the Temne and other Mel moving away from this Futa Jallon 'homeland'.

1.42 The Temne language has been known to Europeans for half a millenium, the Temne having occupied the coastal area around Sierra Leone River from the arrival of the Portuguese in the late fifteenth century. The Portuguese were of course the earliest Europeans to arrive on the Sierra Leone peninsular (see 9.1), and the evidence of

the Portuguese-derived loanwords in Temne reflects the fact that contact between the Portuguese and the Temne predated that between the Temne and the English, for example. English also had an early influence on Temne, commencing about a century later than that of ~~the~~ Portuguese. The earliest words to have come into Temne from English did so through contact with sailors and include nautical terms ( e.g. à-bòsinpâyp, Bosun's pipe ,7.463). English later became the principal source of borrowing into Temne, particularly since the establishment of the Krio community at Freetown from the end of the eighteenth century and the establishment of the British Protectorate of Sierra Leone from the end of the nineteenth century.

1.43 Among the non-European sources of Temne loanwords, Manding<sup>1</sup> and Susu have contributed the greatest number; these languages have not only contributed indigenous items but have also been the medium for the introduction of ~~various~~ Arabic-derived loanwords into Temne. Mende (ch. Five), Fula (ch. Four), Bullom and Limba (ch. Six) have also

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1. For the languages included under the term Manding, see 3.11.

contributed loanwords to the Temne lexicon. The historical and cultural contacts between these various ethnic groups and Temne are discussed under the relevant chapters.

### 1.5 The 'Secret' Societies<sup>1</sup> among the Temne

Since a large proportion of loanwords from other African languages are ultimately bound up with Temne 'secret' societies, it is necessary to give a brief account of the relevant societies and their function among the Temne.

#### 1.51 Poro and Radigba/Bundu

Poro is a male secret society to which only certain local inhabitants are admitted; Radigba, its female counterpart, also admits only some female local inhabitants, the members of Radigba being also responsible for the initiation of young girls into the female circumcision society, the Bundu. There is close co-operation between the Poro and

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1. For articles on these societies, see the following:

V. Dorjahn, 'The Temne Ragbenle society', Africa, XXIX, 1959, pp. 156-70; D. Dalby and A. Kamara, 'Vocabulary of the Temne Ragbenle society', African Language Review, 3, 1964, pp. 35-41; G.W. Brown, 'The Poro in modern business', Man, 37, 1937, pp. 8-9; K. Little, 'The Poro society as an arbiter of culture', Afr. Studies, 7, 1, March 1948, pp. 1-15.

and Radigba and evidence collected during field research for this thesis indicates that Poro and Radigba (including Bundu), all borrowed from the Mende, are replacing the indigenous Ragbenle and Ramena. Detailed discussion of the Poro, Radigba and Bundu societies, together with evidence for their non-Temne origin, may be found under the relevant chapter (5.124).

#### 1.52 Ragbenle and Ramena

The male Ragbenle and female Ramena societies have lost much ground to the rival Poro and Radigba respectively. The Portuguese sailor Fernandes<sup>1</sup> described the Ramena society (wrongly thought to have been the Bundu by Rodney, see 5.411) as existing on the Sierra Leone coast as early as the first decade of the sixteenth century; the Bundu has, however, taken over the functions of the Ramena described by Fernandes. Like the Poro and Radigba, both Ragbenle and Ramena are restricted male and female societies with close co-operation between them. There is, however, a strong feeling of rivalry between the Poro and Radigba on one hand, the Ragbenle and Ramena on the other.

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1. Valentim Fernandes, Description de la côte Occidentale d'Afrique, 1505-10, ed. by Th. Monod, A.T. da Mota, R. Mauny Bissau 1951

### 1.53 Ojeh and Adikali

These societies are <sup>of</sup> ~~less~~ significance to the Temne than any of those already mentioned, serving more as social clubs and both being of Oku<sup>(Yoruba)</sup> origin. There are no female counterparts to these male societies among the Temne. The Adikali is considered as the 'junior' society for younger boys who may be admitted to the Ojeh when they become adults.

### 1.54 Functions of the Secret Societies

#### 1.54.1 Political

The secret societies serve a major political function, since in most chiefdoms, a chief has to be a member of the <sup>major</sup> ~~existing~~ secret society, Poro in the case of Poro chiefdoms, and Ragbenle in the case of Ragbenle chiefdoms. These societies are also used to prevent <sup>unauthorised</sup> harvesting of crops, both societies having, in their respective chiefdoms, wide <sup>powers</sup> ~~power~~ of punishment.<sup>1</sup> The third type of chieftaincy,

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1. V. Dorjahn, 'The changing political system of the Temne', Africa, XXX, 1960, pp. 110-40.

affecting the Muslim chiefdoms, exists in the Northern Bombali, Southern Kambia and North and East Port Loko Districts, where there is great Islamic influence. In these Muslim chiefdoms, the Paramount chief is installed in the Mosque, while in other chiefdoms, installation is conducted by the appropriate societies, to which a chief must necessarily belong. It is significant that it is in these Muslim chiefdoms that the Ojeh society has become most strongly established among the Temne, and even though a chief does not have to be a member of the Ojeh, chiefs in Muslim chiefdoms now find it useful to become members of this society since matters of importance affecting the whole chiefdom may be discussed in the society's meetings.

#### 1.542 Religious

Even though the Ragbenle has lost considerable ground to the Poro in several Temne chiefdoms, it still retains many religious functions in all Temne chiefdoms, including the Poro and Muslim chiefdoms. These functions include purification of those committing incest, or 'cleansing' the household in which someone accused of witchcraft had lived. Apart from the Mende-derived náwó



(helmet mask) of the Bundu and kò-bémhá, a Manding-derived ancestor mask associated with male circumcision, the Ragbenle is the only society among the Temne whose 'masquerader' uses a carved mask for all ceremonial functions, such masks being known as è-ròg. In the Ragbenle-controlled chiefdoms, chiefs used to wear these masks in court, the disguise helping them decide without fear or favour.<sup>1</sup> Even in Poro and Muslim chiefdoms, the chief, soon after his installation, is accompanied round by a Ragbenle masked figure, who acts also as official ambassador to other chiefs. Ragbenle chiefs among the Temne also have a carved figure kept in a secret grove or house, being seen only by the 'elders'.<sup>2</sup>

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1. J. Barbot, A Description of Guinea, London, 1746, noted the use of è-ròg in judging cases in the middle of the eighteenth century. The writer of this thesis also witnessed one such use of these masks in the late forties.
  2. Displaying this carving to strangers is strictly forbidden. In the writer's experience, the late chief of Tane chiefdom in the Tonkolili District nearly lost his chieftaincy, as well as his life, when, in 1962, he allowed David Dalby to see the chiefdom's ancient carving known as ká-'bó'y.

## CHAPTER TWO

### 2. METHODOLOGICAL INTRODUCTION

#### 2.1 Aim of Study

The aim of this study is to identify lexical items that have been borrowed into the Temne language from African and non-African languages with which the Temne have been in contact, and to examine the processes and patterns of such borrowings and the semantic and cultural significance of such loanwords within the Temne lexicon. The words included in this study as loanwords into Temne are those that can be demonstrated either in form or meaning to have been accretions<sup>1</sup> in the language. It must be emphasised from the outset that while this is a linguistic study, the aim has not been to provide a purely descriptive statement on loanwords in the Temne language; using linguistic

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1. D. Dalby, 'A Referential Approach to the Classification of African Languages', in Papers in African Linguistics ed. by Chin-wu Kim and H. Stahlke, Edmonton, 1971, pp. 17-31, includes innovations and borrowings as part of the new material entering language through accretion and it is these borrowings in the language that are here referred to as loanwords.

criteria to identify loanwords is only a first step. The main section of each chapter is devoted to a study of the semantic categories to which the loanwords from a particular language, once identified, may be assigned, together with a discussion on their cultural and historical implications.

### 2.11 Problems

A study of this kind presents problems with which one is not confronted in the study of European languages, from which it is much easier to recognise loanwords than from neighbouring African languages: more rigid tests are necessary in order to establish the direction of inter-African loanwords. The dearth of adequate recorded material of any historical depth is a major reason for the difficulty in identifying such items. Unlike lexicographers of European languages, who frequently provide etymological data, compilers of African languages dictionaries have in general failed to concern themselves with the origin of words.

Word-lists of ~~unrelated~~<sup>different</sup> West African languages frequently contain identical or near identical items (in both structure and meaning), but for which it may be difficult to determine the language of origin. Such a word may be a cognate within a number of closely related languages or may otherwise be an item distributed generally throughout West Africa or western West Africa, irrespective of language group. These general items, as they will be here described, have no apparent source<sup>external</sup> to West Africa, unlike several Arabic, Portuguese, and English-derived items also existing widely in West African languages but which are normally easy to identify. The methodology proposed by Knappert<sup>1</sup> for the identification of inter-African loans is useful in raising an investigator's suspicions about

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1. J. Knappert, 'Contribution from the Study of Loanwords to the Cultural History of Africa', in Language And History in Africa, ed. by D. Dalby, London, 1970, pp. 78-88.

a particular word, but in the case of Temne and surrounding languages it is often not conclusive in establishing the direction of loaning. According to this method, if a word occurs within two distinct but adjacent African language groups, then it is reasonable to assume that the word has been borrowed from the group in which it occurs more frequently into the group in which it occurs less (i.e. within a smaller proportion of the languages involved). There are many cases, however, involving Temne, where words occur generally within both the Mel and Mande language groups, an example being the term kɛmɛ, Hundred, occurring widely in Mande as well as Mel. Using a statistical method alone one would be unable to determine whether the word has been borrowed from Mande into Mel or vice-versa. One might be tempted to suggest that such items were inherited from a postulated common ancestor language like Proto Niger-Congo<sup>1</sup> although classifications at this level are so remote ~~that they~~ and

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1. See J.H.Greenberg, Languages of Africa, Bloomington, 1963, and cf. D.Dalby, 'Reflections on the classification of African Languages', African Language Studies, XI, 1970, pp.147-171, F.D.D.Winston, 'Greenberg's classification of African Languages', African Language Studies, VII, 1966, pp.161-170.

their sub-divisions so uncertain that they provide an improbable explanation for <sup>the</sup> widespread ~~term~~ distribution of terms with identical or near-identical form and meaning.

## 2.2 Identification of Loanwords

The question of the identification of loanwords, according to Einar Haugen<sup>1</sup> is primarily a historical question not susceptible to synchronic analysis: "To identify the results of a historical process like borrowing is simply not possible by a purely synchronic <sup>study</sup> ~~process~~. What we find when we study a structure without reference to its history is 'structural irregularity'". Since the lack of historical data makes it impossible, however, to undertake a diachronic study of any depth in an African language like Temne, an adequate morpho-phonemic description of the language, in order to discover its 'structural irregularities', serves as a good point of

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1. E. Haugen, 'The analysis of linguistic borrowing', in English Linguistics, ed. by Hungerford et al., Illinois, 1970, pp. 429-455.

departure in the identification of loanwords in the language. It is at this point that the comparative methodology becomes applicable, especially for the inter-African loans which are more difficult to identify than the European or Arabic derived loanwords. Professor Hope<sup>1</sup>, though conceding that in practice a diachronic method continues to provide the most efficacious, does not, unlike Haugen, minimise the significance of the synchronic method, accepting that both have a role to play in the identification of borrowings.

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1. T.E.Hope, Lexical Borrowing in the Romance Languages, vol. II, Oxford, 1971, p.623.

## 2.21 Morphophonemic Description

The morphophonemic description of the language helps to provide a clue as to which of the structural elements are characteristic of loanwords and which are not. Bloomfield claims that such a description will recognize a layer of 'foreign forms',<sup>1</sup> which deviate from the normal phonological patterns of the language in question. Professor Eugenie Henderson<sup>2</sup> has systematically applied this synchronic methodology in identifying these 'foreign' phonological characteristics in some South East Asian languages, distinguishing between a 'primary' and<sup>a</sup> 'secondary' phonological system.<sup>2</sup> This method was found, to a large extent, useful in the case of Temne for which secondary features, characteristic of loanwords in Temne only, have been set up.

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1. L. Bloomfield, Language, London, 1935, p. 449

2. E. J. A. Henderson, 'The Phonology of Loanwords in some South East Asian Languages', Transactions of the Philological Society, 1951, pp. 131-58. The term 'features' is used here instead of 'system' to avoid the suggestion of two separate phonological systems co-existing in Temne.



## 2.211 Secondary Features

In ~~xxxxx~~ isolating these secondary features, it has been necessary at times to work backwards, since it would be difficult to start an analysis of this kind without admitting some prior knowledge about loanwords in Temne. Some universally recognised loanwords from English and Arabic were therefore used as a starting point for the study of the phonology of loanwords in Temne, and the results of the analysis of these words made it possible to identify a wider range of loanwords.

The following secondary features have been isolated as characteristic of loanwords in Temne:

- 1) The glottal phonemes /h/ and /ʔ/. The former occurs initially in loanwords of Arabic origin borrowed via Manding and Susu<sup>1</sup>, and one English-derived word à-háwà, Hour. /ʔ/ is very rare although it occurs in some idiolects as an allophone of /w/ or /y/ in a loanword with a vowel initial in the source language (see 2.31).

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1. See, for example, à-hákè, à-hàráwù, à-hàrsíkè (3.42).

- 2) The occurrence of /b/, /d/, and /w/ in medial positions, as in ù-nábì (3.432), ù-fàdé (3.452), and à-yòpòwâ (5.47)
- 3) /b/, and /d/ in final position, as in =báb (7.412), =kád (7.414)
- 4) Consonant clusters (see 1.34)
- 5) Nominal stems under the Singular/plural class pairs Xll and Xlll (see 1.352)
- 6) Simplex stems of more than two syllables, as in ù-bìlakóró (3.48), à-bòsìnpâyp (7.463) and à-yàgbawà (5.46)
- 7) Final /n/ outside the structure CVn, as in à-kên (7.492), à-màsîn (7.463) and à-dìbiyôn (7.463)  
=cV(C).
- 8) The structure ~~CVVC~~. English-derived monosyllabic verbal stems (except =frây ending in a semi-vowel) all have this structure when borrowed into Temne.

2.22 The student of loanwords must also rely to some extent on circumstances external to language which can furnish him with the proof he needs. Such circumstances may be social, cultural, or historical. One may, for historical reasons, suspect Islamic or Christian terms in Temne to be of foreign origin, or, <sup>for</sup> ~~not~~ social reasons, to suspect words connected with the 'secret' societies to be loans. Listing words in semantic clusters is thus another useful method of isolating suspect loanwords. In Temne, words borrowed from each language often fall into particular semantic categories, e.g. terms relating to secret societies from Mende, Islamic terms of ultimate Arabic origin from Manding, Susu and Fula, and words for trade goods, administration and politics from English.

2.23 When a word has been identified as a loanword, tracing its source presents less difficulty if of European or Arabic origin, since adequate dictionaries are available for the languages involved. For words of African origin, however, one needs to devise a method which does not rely

entirely on recorded material or diachronic data. The comparative methodology as proposed by Knappert<sup>2</sup> becomes relevant only at this stage. The morphophonemic description containing a statement on secondary features helps in identifying the loanwords, while the comparative methodology, together with sound correspondences, provides evidence as to the derivation of the loanwords.

## 2.3 Establishment and Assimilation of Loanwords

### 2.3.1 Assimilation

A loanword may be either totally or partially assimilated or not. A partially or non-assimilated loanword is readily identifiable since it retains phonological features which are secondary in Temne, while a totally assimilated word may lose its 'foreign' shape rendering it less easily recognizable as a loan. The phonological assimilation of loanwords follows the pattern of the various sound correspondences listed under each major source language in the relevant chapters. For Portuguese and English-derived words borrowed via Krio into Temne, the tonal

pattern of the word in Temne is influenced by the position of the stressed syllable in the source language (see 7.225 and 9.23).

By far the greatest number of words borrowed into Temne are nominals, each of them being assimilated into the Temne prefix system. In their singular/plural forms, only very nominals falling under classes XII and XIII, do not fall under the primary class system (see 1.352).

Borrowed verbal stems, on the other hand, rarely become assimilated into the Temne extension suffix system (see 1.36), only a few taking the instrumental  $\sim\hat{a}$  suffix alone. =súth, Shoot, the only exception, takes five extension suffixes (see 7.424).

For loanwords having a V initial in the source language, /w/ occurs before a back vowel and /y/ before a front vowel to avoid a V initial when borrowed into Temne. The phoneme /ʔ/, a secondary feature<sup>occurs</sup>, in a few Krio-derived loanwords before a V initial in the source form.

### 2.311 Semantic Narrowing/ Extension/ Shift

Words borrowed into Temne may have their meanings<sup>s</sup> narrowed or extended, or undergo a shift in meaning. Several Manding/Susu-derived words have undergone a shift in meaning

because of the adaptation of certain Islamic concepts in the source languages to Temne traditional concepts. An example of such a meaning shift is demonstrated by the word ù-ná bí, God, which in the source language, Manding, means Prophet (see 3.432). The Manding, who were the earliest to introduce Islam to the Temne, did not primarily play the role of religious reformers. Rather, they used the Koran and their knowledge of reading and writing Arabic to spread their influence. In doing this, they did not try to dissuade the Temne from their strong beliefs in magic, divination and ancestor reverence, but encouraged them, only using Manding terms ~~for~~ in place of indigenous Temne terms. This is the principal reason for the shifts in meaning of many Manding-derived terms. The secret society terms also have their meanings narrowed when borrowed into Temne; a term with a general application in the source language may be borrowed into Temne to refer only to a specific function in the relevant secret society. Mende-derived words for the Bundu and Poro societies generally have their meaning narrowed (see 5.4). There are not as frequent examples of extension as there are of narrowing in words borrowed into Temne, but some English-derived words relating to administration have had their meanings extended in Temne, an example

being ᵒ-nayn , (< E. Nine) which, apart from its meaning of 'nine', also refers to an alarm drum sounded at night at the time of a curfew. More detailed examples are discussed under the relevant chapters.

### 2.32 Establishment of Loanwords

Professor Whiteley has made a useful distinction between what he terms 'established' and 'probationary' loans, defining established loans as those which have been in general use for a number of years, while defining

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1. W.H.Whiteley, 'Loanwords in Linguistic Description: A case study from Tanzania, East Africa', in Approaches in Linguistic Methodology, ed. by Bauch and Scott, London, 1967, pp.125-143. Professor Whiteley admits that the term 'general' is not easy to delimit, but 'if a word is used regularly in the press, on the radio, .....and is accepted by a cross section of the local speakers, it may be regarded as having attained general acceptance'.

probationary loans as those that, for one reason or another, are not yet in general use. The occurrence<sup>r</sup> of loanwords in proverbs and other fixed formula is a useful measure in determining their status as established. Probationary loans are more commonly heard in the speech of bi-linguals, especially in technical, scientific and political contexts.

A probationary loanword may fall out of use before it becomes established, the existence of another word of similar meaning militating against the establishment of such a probationary loan. If the loanword becomes established, on the other hand, in spite of the prior existence of a synonym or near-synonym in the language, it may result in:

- 1) The eventual supplanting of the older word, rendering it obsolete. This older word may be an indigenous item or an older established loan e.g. P. mesa > obs. à-mesa' → à-thébùl Table.
- 2) The co-existence of both the old and new words, often resulting in narrowing of meaning of the older word in Temne and/or the newly borrowed word relative to its meaning in the source language (cf older established k-òránthà (< P. corrente) and the relatively newer kà-tên (< E. Chain), under 9.45 and 7.413 respectively).



English is today the most active donor <sup>or</sup> ~~an~~ source language for the introduction of loanwords into the Temne language so that virtually all probationary loanwords are English-derived, e.g.

E. Permanent Secretary

`u-pámánéntsíktì, <sup>int</sup>  
Senior Civil serva

E. Debate

`a-dibêť Parliamentary  
debate

#### 2.4 Summary of Sources and Categories of Loanwords

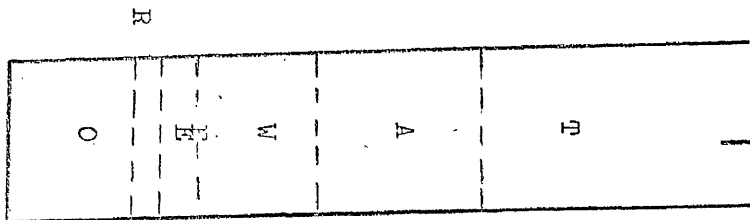
The most abundant source of loanwords into Temne is English (via Krio or direct), words relating to administration, trade and technology having largely come from that source. Portuguese has also contributed many words relating to trade as well as a few plant and food names. Apart from Manding and Susu, which contributed several spiritual terms and also words for divination and magic, it appears that the major factor influencing borrowing <sup>into</sup> ~~between~~ Temne ~~and from~~ other African language sources has been cultural, a great majority of words borrowed from Mendé relating to the Poro and Bundu secret societies, Oku (Yoruba) words <sup>being</sup> ~~are~~ all/secret society terminology for the Ojeh and Adikali societies, and

Limba and Bulloom ~~also~~ words also being largely secret society terms. The diagrams below illustrate the categories into which words borrowed from the various sources ~~into~~ may be classed. These diagrams are not accurate statistical ~~re~~ representations; they serve merely as visual aids in summarising the relative sources and categories of loanwords in Temne.

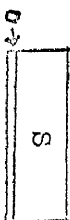
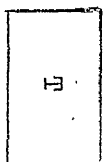
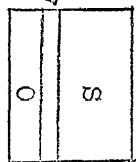
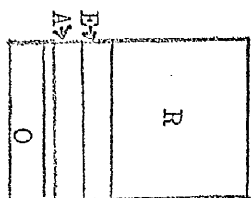
## 2.5 Layout of Thesis

The loanwords are discussed according to their respective source languages; the word lists are preceded by a discussion on the historical and cultural relationship between the relevant source language and Temne. For the major source languages, there is a discussion of the source language's phonology and a list of sound correspondences between Temne and the source language. The words are arranged in semantic categories; this has the advantage of demonstrating immediately, the various areas of the Temne lexicon that have been most affected by borrowing from each particular source. Short explanatory discussions are included, where necessary, on how certain loanwords are assimilated into the vocabulary relating to the general Temne life-pattern, including any significant cultural or historical evidence that may be deduced from such loanwords.

Open Source



S = Secret Societies  
 R = Religion (including magic and divination)  
 E = Education  
 A = Administration and Politics  
 T = Trade (including artefacts)  
 W = Science and Technology  
 O = Others



English/Krio

Manding/Susu

Mende

Portuguese

Oku (Yoruba)

Diagram demonstrating the semantic categories in which loanwords from the major source languages may be classed.

(The relative size of each section is approximate only).

## 2.6 Sources of Data

The material for this study has been collected mainly from the following sources:

### 1) Dictionaries and Word Lists

Abraham R.C., Dictionary of Modern Yoruba, London, 1958

Dalby D., A Dictionary of Temne, (MSS)

Delafose M., La Langue Mandingue, Paris, 1955

Hancock I.F. A Dictionary of Krio, (MSS)

Innes G., A Mende-English Dictionary, Cambridge, 1969

Jones E.D., A Krio-English Dictionary (MSS)

Koelle S.W. ~~W.A.~~ Polyglotta Africana, London, 1854

Lacan Pere Ph., Francais-Soussou et Soussou-Francais,  
Bordeaux, 1942

Schlenker C.F., A Dictionary of Temne, London, 1861

Sumner A.T., A Handbook of the Temne Language,  
Freetown, 1922

Taylor F.W., Fulani-English Dictionary, Oxford, 1932

Vallandro G., Dicionario Ingles-Portugues, Sao Paulo  
1965

Wehr H., A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic, ed. by  
Milton Cowan, Wiesbaden, 1966

- 2) Radio broadcasts in Temne on the Sierra Leone Broadcasting Service
- 3) Speech and songs recorded during field research in Sierra Leone (1967-69)
- 4) Personal observations through own knowledge of Temne (as native speaker)
- 5) Informants:

Miss Aliyero Bah	-Fula
Abu Bakar Jalloh	-"
Alfred Sesay	-Limba
Miss Mariama Turay	-Maninka
Amadu Traore	-Bambara
B. Sidibe	-Mandinka
Dan Koroma	-Kuranko
Alhaji Suma	-Susu
James Mahoi	-Bullom
Willie Kowa	-Mende

## CHAPTER THREE

### 3. MANDING AND SUSU LOANWORDS

#### 3.1 Introduction

3.1.1 These two related languages are discussed together here because many Temne loanwords, especially those of an ultimate Arabic origin, have similar forms in both languages, and since the Manding and Susu have played a similar role in Sierra Leone both as marabouts and itinerant traders. It is frequently difficult to differentiate between words which have been borrowed into Temne from Manding and those which have been borrowed from Susu, and it is therefore necessary to discuss these two source-languages together.

3.1.1 Manding and Susu are both members of the Mande language-group, a so-called 'branch' of the Niger-Congo family of languages postulated by Greenberg<sup>1</sup>. The Mande languages' are sub-divided into four sub-groups<sup>2</sup>, Northern (comprising Manding, Susu, and Soninke), South-western (comprising Mende, Loko, Bandi, Loma, and Kpelle), Southern (including Mano) and Eastern (including Busa). The term

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1. J.H.Greenberg, Languages of Africa, The Hague, 1963.

2. W.E.Welmers, 'Niger-Congo, Mande' in Current Trends in Linguistics, vol. VII, Indiana University, 1971 (in press).

Manding is used to refer to a closely related complex of dialects spoken over a large area of West Africa including Mali, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Senegal, Gambia, Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Liberia and Sierra Leone. These dialects include Maninka and Kuranko (as in Guinea and Sierra Leone), Mandinka (as in Senegambia), Bambara and Khasonke (as in Mali), Dyula (as in Ivory Coast), and Kono and Vai (as in Sierra Leone). The Manding dialects spoken in Sierra Leone have between them a total number of 241,415 native speakers (1963 census)<sup>1</sup>

3.12 Among the donors of Manding terms in the Temne context, it is the Maninka that have been most influential and, unless specifically stated otherwise, Manding will be reflected by Maninka throughout this study. Contacts between the Temne and Manding and Susu may have been established for several centuries before the 'Mane' invasion of Sierra Leone in the sixteenth century. When the 'Mandinga' defeated the Susu in c.1233<sup>2</sup>, they (the Susu)

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1. For geographical distribution see D.Dalby, 'Language Distribution in Sierra Leone:1961-1962', Sierra Leone Language Review, 1,1962,pp.62-67.
  2. D.T.Niane, 'Recherches sur l'Empire du Mali au Moyen Age', Recherches Africaines, No.1 (Jan-March 1960),pp.17-36.

fled west into what is now western Guinea, and the 'Mandinga', having followed them, were already well established on the Upper Guinea Coast when the Portuguese arrived in the middle of the fifteenth century.<sup>1</sup> The Susu, pushed further south by the Fula jihad of 1725, settled among the Limba and then among the Baga-Temne and Northern Bullom, whom they ruled for a considerable period until <sup>the Temne</sup> finally destroyed the power of the Susu over them at Port Loko in 1863.<sup>2</sup> Another possible period of direct contact between the Manding and Susu and the Temne is the 'Mane Invasion', when a group of people called the 'Mane' were believed to have invaded the country of the coastal 'Sape'. Although the identity of both groups has not been settled, it is generally agreed that the Mane included Manding people and the Sape included the coastal Temne and Bullom.<sup>3</sup>

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1. W.Rodney, A History of the Upper Guinea Coast 1545-1800, Oxford, 1970.

2.E.Ijagbemi, A History of the Temne in the nineteenth century, Ph.D. Thesis, Edinburgh, 1968.

3. P.Hair, 'Ethnolinguistic continuity on the Upper Guinea Coast', Journal of African History, VIII, 2, (1967), pp.247-268, suggests the possibility of the Vai being the 'Mane'.



3.13 The influence of the Manding in western West Africa is reflected in the fact that Manding-derived items are very widespread in West African languages from Ghana and Upper Volta in the east to Senegal in the west. Winterbottom<sup>1</sup>, in 1803, observed that he never visited a town in Sierra Leone and its neighbourhood which did not have its own 'Mandingo bookman'. At about the same time Corry<sup>2</sup> had also noted the influence of the 'Mandingo' in the same area, describing them as itinerant fetish-makers and priests. The Manding influence on the Temne, although perhaps not yet as strong as at the end of the eighteenth century, was already evident fifty years earlier. Barbot<sup>3</sup>, writing about the Temne in 1746, uses the Manding-derived term 'solatesquis' in referring to the counsellors of a ~~chief~~ chief (see 3.451 ). Travel accounts have often confused

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1. T. Winterbottom, An Account of the Native Africans in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, London, 1803.
  2. J. Corry, Observations upon the Windward Coast of Africa, London, 1807, p. 44.
  3. J. Barbot, A description of Guinea, London, 1746, p. 103.

the ethnic identity of marabouts in Sierra Leone (as also in Liberia) by referring to them generally as 'Mandingo' regardless of their origin. But even though this term may have included other ethnic groups, the linguistic evidence suggests that the most influential marabouts among the Temne were Manding and Susu. Although the term 'morimen' has been used in English to refer to marabouts in general,<sup>1</sup> the equivalent ~~Temne~~ term ù-móré (apart from its original but less common meaning of Muslim, see 3.442 ) is used by the Temne to refer <sup>primarily</sup> ~~specifically~~ to a Manding (Maninka) or Susu marabout. This term is thus in contrast to the equally Manding-derived ù-kàrmókó, used in Temne (in addition to its general sense of Teacher) to refer expressly to a Fula marabout. The use of these terms reflects not only that Manding were the earliest and most influential marabouts known to the Temne, but also that the more recently arrived Fula were, and still are, recognised by the Temne as teachers of the Koran and Islamic doctrine rather than Islamic fetish-makers and soothsayers as are the Manding and Susu marabouts.

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1. Ijagbemi, op.cit. p.221.

3.14 Welcomed for their powers of divination and charm-making by the use of extracts from the Koran, the marabouts gained positions of influence and power among the Temne, who sometimes invited an ù-móré to an empty throne<sup>1</sup>, or, as was frequent, to make charms for a chief. Such a marabout, often rewarded by being made a sub-chief over a section of the chiefdom,<sup>2</sup> might even marry a daughter of one of ~~one of~~ the ruling houses, the children of such a marriage being entitled to be candidates for the main chieftaincy.<sup>3</sup> The willingness to accept chieftaincy also meant a willingness to accept traditional customs, the result being a large scale adaptation of Islamic concepts to traditional Temne customs; offerings to dead ancestors were not discouraged, the Manding and Susu marabouts merely replacing the indigenous terms for such

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1. Ijagbemi, op.cit. p.221

2. Ijagbemi, op.cit. p. 189

3. Many Temne, including some chiefs, still claim Manding ancestry, even where, (as is often the case) the lines of descent are very obscure. The Fula also benefited in this way from their knowledge of the Koran, although to a much lesser extent than the Manding; a Fula became chief of Yoni, for example, the stronghold of the Temne Poro society.

offerings by items derived (via Manding and/or Susu) from Arabic ( see 3.412 ). The custom of divination, traditional among the Temne, was also continued, but with the new methods introduced by the marabout, and therefore associated with Islam, being now considered more reliable and more prestigious ( see 3.412 ).

3.15 Not every Manding or Susu settling among the Temne was a marabout, numbers of them being leather workers (ù-karánké) and also professional musicians (ù-yèlibá)<sup>1</sup>. A few Temne are themselves practising marabouts (ù-móré) today, having studied the Koran, but the professions of ù-karánké and ù-yèlibá are still restricted to Manding and Susu.

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1. The term 'griot' often used ~~for~~ for these professional Manding musicians and historical narrators is ~~not~~ avoided used in this thesis. 'Jeliba' (derived from Manding jèlibá and known throughout western West Africa) seems to the writer a more appropriate term, and will therefore be used throughout this thesis.

3.16 The majority of words borrowed from Manding and/or Susu into Temne (a large proportion of them being of ultimate Arabic origin) relate to spiritual, pious and impious behaviour. The terms for material goods and implements connected with trade are significantly very few for people said to have been primarily concerned with trade.<sup>1</sup> It appears that Manding interest in trade may have taken second place in Sierra Leone to the exploitation of the Koran for <sup>economic</sup> ~~commercial~~ and political purposes. Their attitudes being pragmatic, the marabouts did not seek to impose a totally alien mode of thought and way of life on the Temne, but rather exploited and adapted their traditional beliefs, integrating Islam with the communities' socio-political system. Trimingham's remark<sup>2</sup> that the

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1. C. Fyfe, A History of Sierra Leone, Oxford 1962, p. 6.

2. J. S. Trimingham, Islam in West Africa, Oxford, 1963, p. 35.

chief elements of Islamic culture which became assimilated in West Africa are those that have 'animistic' elements seems relevant to the situation in Temne, where many words of Islamic significance have been borrowed from Manding and Susu but with their meaning adapted to some element of traditional culture (cf. ù-mórê and ù-mîn, and à-wálkà and à-wánká, 3.412 ). This attitude of the Manding and Susu marabouts may account for the ready way in which Islam has been accepted by the Temne, as opposed to Christianity<sup>1</sup>, involving the introduction of new and totally alien concepts. The situation is thus similar to that in the Middle Volta Basin, Levtzion having summed it up in the following passage: "There is no sign in Dagomba of active resistance to Islam, the attitude being pragmatic. Chiefs have Muslims around them to pray for their welfare

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1. Christian Missionaries, in translating Biblical texts into Temne, have endeavoured to bridge this gap by using Arabic-derived terms in several instances, e.g. the words for Angel, Heaven, Hell, Spirit and Prophet.

and their success. Under the influence of these Muslims, chiefs occasionally pray, but only rarely become genuine. They go along with Islam as long as it does not interfere with their obligations towards the majority of the non-Muslim subjects. Hence the character of the half Islamised chief".<sup>1</sup>

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L. N. Ievtziou, Muslims and Chiefs in West Africa, Oxford 1968, pp. 190-191.

### 3.2 Phonology of Manding and Susu

#### 3.21 Consonants

	BI-LABIAL		LABIO-DENTAL		ALVEOLAR		PALATAL		VELAR		LABIO-VELAR		GLOTTAL	
Plosives	p	b			t	d			k	g	gb			
Nasals		m				n				ɟ				
Affricates							c	tʃ						
Fricatives			f		s				(x)				h	
Laterals						l								
Roll						r								
Semi-vowels		w						y						

( ) in Susu only

+ in Manding only

The above symbols have their I.P.A. value except c [tʃ] and j [dʒ].



### 3.211 Vowels

i                      u  
e                      o  
ɛ                      ɔ  
a

### 3.212 Tone

Manding (Maninka) has two contrasting lexical tones, high and low, which are <sup>marked</sup> in this thesis with acute and grave accents respectively, (together with an inverted circumflex for rising tone, i.e. combination of low plus high, in the definite form of certain monosyllabic nominals)<sup>1</sup>.

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1. For a full discussion of tone in Manding, see  
W.E. Welmers, 'Tonemes and Tone Writing in Maninka',  
Studies in Linguistics, vol. 7, 1971;  
C.S. Bird, Aspects of Bambara Syntax, Ph.D. Dissertation,  
U.C.L.A., 1966;  
R.A. Spears, 'Tonal dissimilation in Maninka', Journal of  
African Languages, 7, 2, 1968, pp. 88-100.

Examples of tonal contrasts include:

kábá Maize	kábá Stone
sán Year	sán Rain

Susu has four syllabic tones<sup>1</sup> marked in this thesis as in Temne, i.e. acute accent for high, grave for low, circumflex for falling, and inverted circumflex for rising. Examples of tonal contrasts in Susu include:

kóti Amulet	kóti Coat
di Child	di How
dé Mouth	dé Leper

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1. M. Houis, Etude Descriptive de la langue Susu, I.F.A.N., Dakar, 1963, pp. 25-36.

### 3.22 Phonological Correspondences between Manding/Susu and Temne (in loanwords borrowed from Manding and Susu)

The items cited as illustrations of correspondences include loanwords of Arabic origin which, since they have been borrowed through Manding/Susu, are treated here together with indigenous Manding/Susu terms. Examples represent Manding forms or identical Manding and Susu forms, except where indicated by initial S (=Susu only). Only one example is cited for identical correspondences and three for differential correspondences (except where only two have been noted). The Manding/Susu items are quoted first.

#### 3.221 Consonants (non-differential)

b:b

bém<sup>́</sup>bá<sup>́</sup> Ancestor, grandfather

ù-bém<sup>́</sup>bá<sup>́</sup> Ancestor

k:k

kém<sup>́</sup>é Hundred

k-ém<sup>́</sup>é (as for M/S)

gb:gb

gbùndú<sup>́</sup> Secret

ù-a-gbùndú<sup>́</sup> (as for M/S)

f:f

fóntóbá<sup>́</sup>lín Irresponsible

ù-fónthóbá<sup>́</sup> (as for M/S)

m:m

mórí Marabout

ù-móré Marabout

s:s

síbé Amulet

à-síbê Amulet

n:n

nónó Cow'milk, sour milk

mò-nónó Sour milk

l:l

lémuré Orange

à-lémré Orange

r:r

garángé Leather  
worker

ù-káránké Leather worker

w:w

wúlú Thousand

à-wûl Thousand

### 3.222 Consonants (differential)

b:p

hótúbá Sermon

à-wúthpà Dance festival marking  
end of Ramadan

túbí Repent

=thupí Repent

t:th

tábùlé Drum for calling  
to prayers or  
meetings

à-thábùlé Chief's drum, also for  
calling to prayers or  
meetings

bàyítí Funeral vigil

à-bàyíthí (as for M / S)

bátú Worship

=báthó (as for M/S)

(Initial only) d:r

dúbá Ink

r-úba  
~~mba~~ (as for M/S)

dùnún Drum type

à-rùnú (as for M/S)

dánká Curse

à-ránká (as for M/S)

(Medial) d:th

fándá Meal for a  
stranger

à-fánthá (as for M/S)

sádáká Offering, charity

s-áthká (as for M/S)

g:k

garángé Leather worker

ù-káránké (as for M/S)

kásángé Shroud

k-ásámké (as for M/S)

gàsí Social offence

k-àsí (as for M/S)

χ (Susu only) :k

ʒχàbíi Blacksmith

ù-kàbí (as for Susu)

ʒdànxé Little, last

-dànké (as for Susu)

ʒsónxó Shout

=sónkó (as for Susu)

Manding j, Susu y:y

M jèlí, S yèlí Jeliba

ù-yèlí (as for M/S)

M járábí, S yárábí Fall  
into public disgrace

=yárábí (as for M/S)

M jàbá, S yàbá Onion

kè-yàbá (as for M/S)

### 3.223 Vowels (non-differential)

i:i

kísí Be saved

=kísí (as for M/S)

e:e

bémbá Grandfather, ancestor

ù-bémbá Ancestor

ɛ:ɛ

kémé Hundred

k-émé (as for M/S)

a:a

kàrèndé Pupil

ù-kàrèndé (as for M/S)

ɔ:ɔ

mórí Marabout

ũ-móreê (as for M/S)

o:o

bìlākóró Uncircumcised

ũ-bìlākóró (as for M/S)

u:u

dùnún Drum type

à-rùnú (as for M/S)

### 3.224 Vowels (differential)

a:ɑ

tàsàbíyá Muslim rosary

à-thàsàbíyá (as for M/S)

gàsí Social offence

k-àsí (as for M/S)

u:ɔ

sùkúlí Early morning meal

à-sòkólí (as for M/S)

during Ramadan

bátú Worship

=bóthó (as for M/S)

### 3.23 Morphological Assimilation

One <sup>borrowed</sup> nominal stem y-ìkí, Respect, though not occurring as a simplex verbal stem in Temne, does occur as a complex verbal stem with the ~s causative and the ~nê reflexive suffixes,

y-ìkí            =yíkís Treat with respect  
                   =yíkísñê Have self respect

Although at least thirty verbal stems have been borrowed from Manding and Susu into Temne, only seven of these have been noted as taking extension suffixes. <sup>bám-bá</sup>~~=bám-bá~~ Carry on the back, =ránká Curse, =yábí Insult, and =súná Initiate into the Bundu, all take the ~nê allomorph of the Instrumental suffix ~â ( see 1.36 ), the first three also <sup>~nê or Reciprocal</sup> taking the Reflexive ~ánê ( see 1.36 ).

=bám-bá Carry on the back  
 =bám-báñê Carry on the back for  
 =bám-báñê Carry one another on the back, mutual help  
 =ránká Curse  
 =ránkáñê Curse on behalf of  
 =ránkáñê Curse one another  
 =yábí Insult  
 =yábíñê Insult (s.o.) on behalf of  
 =yábíñê Talk loudly to oneself



Two verbal stems take the -(â)s causative suffix.

=físá Get better

=físâs Make better

=kísí Be saved

=kísîs Cause to be saved

### 3.3 Semantic Change in Manding/Susu loanwords in Temne

3.31 Extension of meaning in words borrowed from Manding and Susu into Temne is frequent, especially with words of ultimate Arabic origin whose meanings are assimilated to traditional Temne beliefs and custom, e.g. à-wúthpà (3.413) has, apart from its Manding/Susu meaning, the additional and more familiar sense of all-night dancing and singing in the streets at the end of Ramadan. à-bàyíthí (3.414) in addition to its meaning in the source language, is likewise used to refer to ~~the~~ singing and dancing during a funeral vigil. Other examples of extended meanings include sèthànì (3.432), ù-yèlibá (3.47), and =yábí (3.48).

3.32 The only items noted in which there has been narrowing of meaning in the process of borrowing from Manding and Susu into Temne are three relationship terms:

thàrá Elder female ( see 3.452)

kèdó Elder male ( " " )

bémbá Ancestor ( " " )

Words of ultimate Arabic origin have not been noted as having become narrowed in meaning when borrowed into Temne via Manding and Susu; it is more common for such terms to be extended, although some of them may undergo a meaning shift:

ù-nábì God ( see 3.432)

ù-márkì God ( " " )

Other Manding/Susu words, not of Arabic origin, that have had shifts in application are:

-játígí ù-yáthkí (see 3.421)

kèndí ù-kèndí ( "3.47)

3.33 Manding and Susu loanwords in Temne, like those from Mende, are unaffected by the influx of English-derived words into Temne, the reason being the specialised nature of the words that <sup>have been</sup> ~~are~~ borrowed, neither English nor Krio

having cultural equivalents to replace them. There is one area, however, where English words co-occur<sup>with</sup>, and are in fact replacing, Manding/Susu-derived equivalents i.e. terms relating to time and days of the week (see 3.461).

3.34 Manding and Susu are closed sources for borrowing into Temne, the use of words borrowed from these languages, especially those of ultimate Arabic origin, being largely restricted to Islamic contexts. Islam is regarded with a great deal of prestige among the Temne, and Manding and Susu loanwords, being associated with Islam, are regarded with corresponding prestige. Where there is a choice between an indigenous item and a Manding or Susu-derived item (whether of ultimate Arabic origin or not), the latter is often preferred as being more <sup>serious or</sup> ~~pious~~ and reverent (see terms of insult, 3.48, and Behavioural terms, 3.42).

### 3.4 Semantic Categories

The majority of words borrowed from Manding and Susu are of ultimate Arabic origin, having to do mostly with religious and pious behaviour and Islamic rites and customs, such as prayer and worship, alms and sacrifice. There are also words relating to divination, magic and charm making, the uses to which the Manding and Susu marabouts most profitably put the Koran. Titles of chieftaincy have likewise been borrowed <sup>used</sup> from Manding and Susu into Temne, since these Manding and Susu marabouts, because of their powers of divination and magic, as well as their knowledge of the Koran, not only became 'King-makers' among the Temne, but were themselves sometimes rewarded for their services by being made chiefs, hence the Manding or Susu ancestry claimed by several chiefs among the ethnic groups of northern Sierra Leone.

Indigenous Manding and Susu words, though not pious in the source language, have often been given a religious <sup>connotations</sup> ~~connotations~~ when borrowed into Temne, with the result that Manding and Susu words of insults in the source languages are borrowed into Temne with the added implication of 'divine curse'. Words denoting artisans,

foodstuffs, implements used mainly for measurement, and numbers have also been borrowed into Temne from indigenous Manding and Susu vocabulary (i.e. with no ultimate Arabic source). Such indigenous Manding or Susu items are fewer than those with an ultimate Arabic source. The cultural and historical significance of the various semantic categories are discussed under the relevant sections below.

### 3.4 Semantic Categories

#### 3.41 Customs and Rites

##### 3.411 Prayer and Worship

MANDING/SUSU	TEMNE
sáí (A. ṣalāh) Pray	=sáí Pray
	à-sáí Prayer marking the end of Ramadan, Id ul fitri
súbá (A. ṣubḥa Early morning) Prayer at dawn	à-súbá (as for M/S)
sálífáná (A. ṣalāh + M fana Meal) Mid- afternoon prayer	à-sálífáná (as for M/S)
lànsará (A. ʿaṣr Afternoon) Late afternoon prayer	à-lànsará (as for M/S)

MANDING/SUSU

fítírí (A. fiṭr Dusk)

Prayer at dusk

sàkáfú Night prayer

àrjúma/S àryúma (A. jum'a  
Friday) Friday

sáfá (A. ṣaff ) Row, as of  
worshippers

wádání (A. adān) Call to  
prayer

tábulé (A. atbāl Drum)  
Drum used <sup>for</sup> ~~the~~ call  
to prayer

TEMNE

à-fìthìrì (as for M/S)

à-sàkáfù (as for M/S)

à-yúma Friday, Friday congregational prayer at the  
Mosque

à-sáfá (as for M/S)

=wádání (as for M/S)

à-thábulé (as for M/S), see also  
3.451

=sólí refers specifically to Muslim prayer, this being one of the two most important yardsticks in deciding if someone is a 'good' Muslim, the other being fasting during Ramadan. Prayer, including the five daily prayers, is always a recital of Koranic texts in Arabic,

praying in any other language being considered non-Islamic and referred to by the indigenous term =rámnê, (including Christian prayer). The two methods of calling to prayer, =wádání and à-thábùlé are necessary only on Friday prayers, à-yúma, and on the annual Id prayers, the public prayers to which every Muslim is expected to go. à-thábùlé is first sounded two to three hours before the start of prayers, and finally about a quarter<sup>r</sup> of an hour before. It is particularly useful in large towns, where clocks are not widely used.<sup>1</sup> Just before the ~~start~~<sup>Start</sup> of prayers, a member of the congregation goes outside the Mosque chanting in a loud voice a fixed Arabic text, =wádání, prayer then commencing immediately after.

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1. The drum is sounded three times before prayers begin, and Muslim Temne regard the first drumming as a warning to start bathing and preparing themselves, the second as an indication that they should be leaving for the Mosque, and the final one as a warning that prayers are about to begin; the =wádání immediately before the start is regarded merely as a warning to those already within hearing range to hurry.

### 3.4111 Thanksgiving

MANDING/SUSU

TEMNE

díkrá (A. <sup>díkr</sup> ~~dikara~~ )

=díkrá Give thanks to God

Thanksgiving

=díkrá ,praying noisily as a thanksgiving, involves several people. The prayer may be conducted by the Imam after Friday prayers if the event for which there is a thanksgiving involves the whole community, or by ù-mórê in an individual's household if it is private. Muslims are not obliged to be present at such thanksgiving prayers, though absenting oneself from a public thanksgiving might be criticised by the rest of the community as rè-físrwálí (see 3.4211 ).

### 3.4112 Places of Worship

MANDING/SUSU

TEMNE

mìsídí (A. misjīd) Mosque

à-mìsídi (as for M/S)

S sálikénén (A. ṣalāh Pray

à-sálá<sup>kéndé</sup> (as for Susu)

+ S kénén Open space)

Large open field used

for the annual Id prayer

and for the installation

of chiefs



à-sálkéndé is usually located on the outskirts of a town and close to the cemetery; the reason for this may be because of ancestor reverence among the Temne, who give greater significance to the holding of prayers close to the place where their ancestors are buried.

### 3.4113 Praying Accessories

MANDING/SUSU

TEMNE

tàsàbíyá Muslim rosary  
(A. tasbiḥat)

à-thàsàbíyá (as for M/S)

tásálén (A. ṭas Wash basin

à-thásàlé (as for M/S)

+ diminutive suff.

lén) Small metal

basin carried by

Muslims for washing

themselves before

prayer

S sálídé Prayer mat (A. ṣalāh à-sálbé (as for <sup>Susu</sup>~~Temne~~)  
+suff. dé )

These accessories were ~~more~~ and still are, particularly useful to travelling Muslims who often have to pray on deserted roadsides during the course of their journey. A stranger coming into a village holding à-thásàlé or à-sálbé is immediately welcome as a fellow Muslim. Instead

of a mat, a sheep's skin may sometimes be used as à-sálbé. Ordinary mats used for sleeping, à-gbáthá, or for other domestic purposes like drying rice, à-bík, may not be used as à-sálbé, these being special mats imported from Egypt, often with drawings of Mosques outlined on them.

### 3.412 Alms and Sacrifice

#### MANDING/SUSU

sádáká (A. ṣādaqa ) Alms,  
offering

M jaká, S yáká (A. ṣakah)  
Alms, charity

S fàngádámá Mixed offering

#### TEMNE

s-áthkà (as for M/S)

è-yáká Alms in the form of  
provisions given to  
Imam or Koranic  
teacher (ù-kàrmókó,  
see 3.441 )

à-fànkádámá Form of offering  
to ancestors  
(s-áthkà) comprising  
an assortment of  
foodstuffs and other  
objects, usually left  
on the roadside as  
appeasement to the  
ancestors

s-áthkà is the generic term for various kinds of offerings referred to by particular terms, à-fànkádàma' being one of such terms. The indigenous offerings, all referred to generically as s-áthkà, include:

- 1) kè-bémpá (lit. The making-up), Annual offering to a village or family spirit. Rice cooked with palm oil is offered to the ancestor spirit by the head of the village or family whose duty it is to supervise the ~~stxi~~ strict performance of this rite annually. Any disaster, like a bad crop, plague or flood is often attributed to the neglect of this offering to the ancestors.
- 2) =lòy á-bòyâ (Te. =lòy Pour, à-bòyâ Gift), Pour libation to the ancestors. Unlike kè-bémpá, this offering is restricted only to personal relations, and is not accompanied by an elaborate ceremony. Palm wine or water was formerly used in pouring the libation, although today imported gin and whisky are becoming the most popular drinks for this purpose. When a group of Temne are sharing a drink together, they frequently spill a small quantity from the first drink on the ground in reverence to the ancestors.

3) =támâr kà-bồ (Te.=támâr Stand, tr. vb., kà-bồ Ground ~~rice~~ rice), Make offering of ground rice to the ancestors, often prescribed for an individual as a cure or protection against disaster by a marabout or ù-mân, the indigenous diviner.

Manding and Susu marabouts often officiate in the =támâr kà-bồ offering, though hardly ever in the previous two forms of sacrifice. Although these indigenous offerings are offered directly to God, (Te. kúrû) each of them beginning with the fixed formula kúrû múnó í bôrâr, 'It is to you God that I plead', the names of the ancestors are always invoked as mediators who are capable of pleading directly to God on behalf of the suppliant.<sup>1</sup> Temne who are ~~who are~~ practising Muslims do not find these offerings incompatible with their professed Islamic faith; on the contrary, ~~they~~ have retained <sup>these</sup> ~~these~~ 'pagan' customs under the guise of Islamic ritual by calling a Manding, Susu or Fula marabout to read a chapter of the Koran during the ceremony

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1. A.K.Turay, 'Temne supernatural terminology' Sierra Leone Bulletin of Religion, vol.2, no.9, Dec.1968, p.10.

of =tāmār kà-bŏ, for example, instead of calling the indigenous ù-mên. Whether or not the offering is carried out with a marabout officiating, it is still the ancestors that are called upon by name to act as intermediaries and not the Prophet Mohammed, reflecting the fact that the Prophet is of very little importance in Temne Islamic practice (see ù-nábì 3.4.32).

è-yáká is one of the ways in which the marabouts have sustained themselves without having to engage in other supplementary occupations (see also 4.23), the others being fees received for services as charm-makers and the collection of money and foodstuff collected by the pupils when they go out begging for alms on behalf of their teachers ( =sálámúthí 3.4.41). 3. Though not legally binding, giving è-yáká is a moral obligation to be discharged at least once every year, every Muslim having to send part of his produce to the village cleric. At the same time, Koranic teachers are not supposed to take a fee from their pupils as they are theoretically performing a sacred duty, though the pupils' parents do send è-yáká at regular intervals in order to 'receive blessing'.

3.413 Fast

MANDING/SUSU

TEMNE

súm (A. şaum) Fast, abstention à-súm (as for M/S)

súnánkátí (A. sūna, Law, custom, à-sónánkáthí (as for M/S)  
+ M kátí To break)<sup>1</sup>

Evening 'break fast' at  
Ramadan

súkúlí (M sú Night, kúlí Meal) à-sòkólì (as for M/S)

Late night or early  
morning meal during  
Ramadan

M hóútúbá, S wútúbá (A. <u>kuṭba</u> )	à-wúthpà Dance festival
Public address, specif.	celebrating the end
Friday sermon	of Ramadan

- 
1. The term Mkátí, Break, corresponds in meaning to  
Te. =gbək, Cut, break, both being used to refer to  
breaking of fast at dusk.

During the month of Ramadan ḡóf ḡá'súm (Te. ḡóf, Moon, month, +ḡ-súm), food and drink are permitted only between nightfall and dawn, the heavy early morning meal à-sòkólì helping to sustain one while fasting throughout the day. The Temne have adopted Muslim customs to fit in with their traditions of dance and song, the custom of à-wúthpà having become more<sup>of</sup> a traditional dance festival involving Temne songs interspersed with Arabic, making the songs sound sacred but unintelligible to most Temne.<sup>1</sup>

- 
1. These songs may be compared to the Bundu, the Poro and the Ojeh songs which are also unintelligible to most Temne, being interspersed with Mende words (for the Bundu and Poro) and Oku (Yoruba) words ( in the case of Ojeh). The similarity<sup>in function</sup> of the cleric, who may be the only person capable of interpreting the Koran in the village, and the interpreters for the Poro 'devil' ( 5.4 | 2 ) and the Ojeh 'devil' ( 8.4 | 2 ) may also be noted.

### 3.414 Female Circumcision, Funeral

MANDING/SUSU

TEMNE

súná (A. sūna Law, custom )

Circumcision

=súná Circumcise (female)

à-súnà Female circumcision

ceremony, lasting only  
a few days and done in  
a house in the town  
(cf. à-bòndò 5.411)

bàyítí (A. bait, pl. abyat)

Verses, extracts from  
the Koran read at a  
funeral

à-bàyíthí Funeral vigil

with singing<sup>1</sup> of  
dirges in Temne  
interspersed with  
Arabic

M kásánké, S kásángé Shroud

ak-ásánké

1. An example of such a song is:

súbánálá làyílà (A. subhāna'allah ) Praise be to God

ó-thém ò-nó'sínè The man is sorrowful

ká kò ró sámì To go to the other world ( see sámá 3.431 )

thá áḡ bá á-fánthá One needs a light meal ( see fándá 3.421 )

dè nú kálí à-dúníyá Come look at the world ( dúnyá 3.431 )

súbánálá sá bà áḡ-dúníyá Praise be to God we own the world.



à-sùná, practised mainly by the Susu and to a lesser extent, the Maninka and Fula in Sierra Leone, differs from the traditional form of Bundu in that girls are not required in the à-sùná to spend a long time in the 'bush', though the initiation is still carried out by à-dígbà, Senior Bundu official (5.412). à-sùná is becoming increasingly popular among the Temne because of its greater convenience for school-girls who are unable to spare the time for traditional Bundu initiation.

k-ásánké is used mostly in Muslim and Christian burials, the corpse being covered in an unhemmed straw mat in traditional burials. The custom of contributing towards the funeral costs, =kóri rà-fì (lit. greeting death) is an important social obligation, the neglect of which is considered a grave social offence, rà-fisrwáí (see 3.4212). à-bàyíthí is celebrated three times, on the nights of the third, the seventh, and the fortieth days after the death takes place.

### 3.415 Pilgrimage

MANDING/SUSU

TEMNE

M híjǐ (A. hījj) Pilgrimage  
to Mecca

à-híyì (as for Manding)

M. àlháǐǐ, S àlháyǐ (A. alhājj)

ù-láyì (as for M/S)

One who has undertaken  
the pilgrimage to Mecca

The pilgrimage to Mecca is expensive and many Temne spend <sup>Several</sup> ~~many~~ years saving so they 'can go to Mecca' in their old age. Those who become Alhajj, ù-láyì acquire a new prestige in their society, often being welcomed on their return by dancing and drumming and the singing of songs from the indigenous secret societies. Despite the strong objection of the Fula in Sierra Leone to these 'pagan' elements in Islam, this Temne form of Islamic celebration does not appear to be losing ground.

### 3.416 Forbidden Food

MANDING/SUSU

TEMNE

M jífá, S yífá (A. jīfa Corpse,

à-yífá Unslaughtered

cadaver) Animal, dead from  
natural causes

animal, dead from natural  
causes and therefore  
taboo

### 3.42 Behavioral Terms

#### 3.421 Pious Behaviour and its Rewards

MANDING/SUSU

TEMNE

M héri', S héri' (A. kair Good,  
good thing) Well-being  
peace, happiness

à-héri' (as for M/S)

hálálá (A. halāl Lawful)  
Religious action

à-hálálà (as for M/S)

M ársígé, S hársígé  
(A. harsak) Good  
fortune

à-hàrsíkè (as for M/S)

kísí Escape, be saved

=kísí (as for M/S)

físá Get better, improve

=físá (as for M/S)

fándá Meal, provision for  
a journey, ~~give~~  
hospitality to a  
stranger

à-fánthá Provisions for  
a journey, enter-  
tainment for a  
stranger, (ritual)  
meal for a dead  
person on his  
journey to the  
other world

MANDING/SUSU  
 M jíǵí, S yǐkǐ Hope, confidence;  
 worthy of confidence

M jáǵí, S yáǵí Host

túbí (A. taub) Repent

TEMNE  
 y-ǐkǐ Dignity, respect

ù-yáthàkǐ Friend

=thúpí Repent, ask  
 forgiveness of a  
 superior

### 3.4211 Impious or Anti-social Behaviour and its Punishment

MANDING/SUSU  
 M jùnúbí, S yùnúbí (A. ðunub )  
 Offence, sin, crime

háké (A. haqqa ) Justice,  
 due, retribution; sin,  
 religious offence

hāramú (A. harām) Forbidden,  
 unlawful

TEMNE  
 à-yùnúbì Divine punishment  
 for sin, state of  
 suffering and un-  
 happiness for a  
 religious offence  
 à-hákè Sin, retribution,  
 punishment

à-hàramù Sinful gain, un-  
 lawful action

MANDING/SUSU

TEMNE

kásará (A. kasara Break,  
shatter) Be ruined,  
destroyed

=kásará Be ruined, meet with  
disaster

hálákí (A. halaka Ruin, disaster,  
destruction) Destroy,  
ruin, punish; death, ruin

=hálákí Be ruined

másíbò Danger, peril

mè-síbò Danger, catastrophe

mùnàfákí (A. munafaq) Hypocrite

ù-mùnàfákì (as for M/S)

M jànfá, S yanfa Deceit,  
treachery

y-ànfá Plot, treachery

dánká Curse

à-ránká Curse, ill luck

M físirínwálé, S físiríwálé  
Ungrateful, anti-  
social, rebellious

rè-físrwáí Negligence of  
social duties, anti-  
social behaviour

M jàràbí, S yàrábí Humilia-  
tion, public disgrace

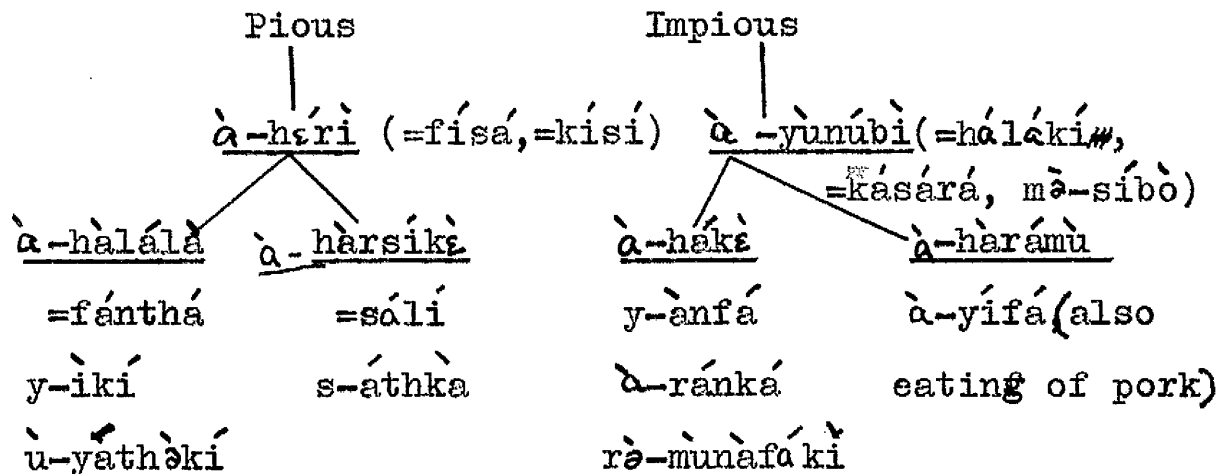
=yàrábí Fall into public  
disgrace

kásí Social crime

k-àsí (as for M/S)

Pious and impious behaviour have their respective rewards and punishment in à-hérì and à-yùnúbì. The following summary chart illustrates the categories into which the relevant loanwords from Manding and <sup>Susu</sup> fall, demonstrating which items and actions are considered pious or impious, these also being sub-divided into the respective rewards and punishments.

### Religious Behaviour



An important element in seeking à-hálálá relates to behaviour towards strangers and their entertainment. à-fánthá, food given to a stranger on his arrival and departure, as well as provisions on his departure, has been given further ritual significance in its application

to the sacrifice offered to a dead ancestor ( =támâr kâ-bô 3.412), serving as a meal for the dead man during his journey to the other world. Apart <sup>from</sup> giving strangers this hospitality, one must also treat them with dignity and respect, y-îkí, whatever their situation. The Manding/Susu word for a host has been borrowed into Temne as ù-yáthèkí, Friend. The combination of these three actions, giving hospitality to strangers both on their arrival and departure, treating them with dignity, and accepting them as friends, is considered pious behaviour, the neglect of which is a sin, à-hákè. It is not surprising therefore that the Manding and Susu should have given religious significance to the treatment of strangers since this was to their advantage as travelling marabouts and traders.

The custom of à-fánthá towards marabouts is also extended to emissaries from other chiefdoms, even if hostile, who are not allowed to state their mission until they have received formal hospitality. The safe return of such emissaries is the responsibility of the host chief and it is considered à-hákè if an emissary should be harmed.

### Secular Behaviour

k-àsí is punishable by civil authority or secret society officials, depending on whether the crime is against the laws of the community as a whole or against those of the secret society, the punishment involving a fine, physical torture, or initiation into the ~~relevant~~ secret society where relevant. Using foul language, quarrelling with a fellow-villager, or going to a secret society grove when not a member of the society all fall under this category of crime.

An offence punishable neither by civil authority as k-àsí nor by à-yùnúbì is rè-físrwáí, involving social 'infidelity', i.e. neglecting one's village and duty towards one's community. Since the community as a whole is responsible for the up-bringing of an individual, such an individual is expected to fulfill his own commitments to the community when the time comes. Even though there is no legal or divine punishment, a person guilty of such an offence is ostracised, exposure to public disgrace and humiliation, =yá'á'bí, being the social check for such offences.



=thúpi is restricted to relationships within the family; if a son, daughter or other junior relative wishes to seek forgiveness for the neglect or disrespect of a parent or elder relative, he or she will kneel in front of them, a touch on the head signifying that this has been forgiven.

### 3.4212 Pious Exclamations

#### MANDING/SUSU

ástáfùrlây (A. astağfaru 'llāh.)

God forbid it

ínsaláhu (A. 'inšā' a-llahu) God

willing

áláhuákbár (A. allāhu akbar) God

is great, exclamation

of surprise, delight,

or sorrow

súbáhanálây (A. subhānu 'llāh)

Praise be to God,

expressing surprise

or shock

álátántó (A. alla God, + M tanto

Praise) Thanks be to  
God

#### TEMNE

sáfùrlây (as for M/S)

ísaláwù (as for M/S)

lákbarù (as for M/S)

súbánàlây (as for M/S)

há(á)thánthó (as for M/S)

These expressions have become very widely used in Temne, their use not being restricted to religious contexts. The indigenous Temne exclamation of shock or surprise, ǵgbò is still used but only infrequently, lákbarù occurring more often. kúrû mómó (Te. kúrû God, \* mómó Thanks) also co-occurs with háláthánthó.

### 3.43 World and Next World<sup>1</sup>, Spiritual Beings

#### 3.431 The World and Next World

MANDING/SUSU

TEMNE

ǵúnýá (A. dunya) World, Earth      ǵ -ǵúníyá This world (as  
opposed to the other  
world), crowd

S sámi (A. samā<sup>2</sup> Heavenly)      ró-sámi (as for Susu)  
The other world

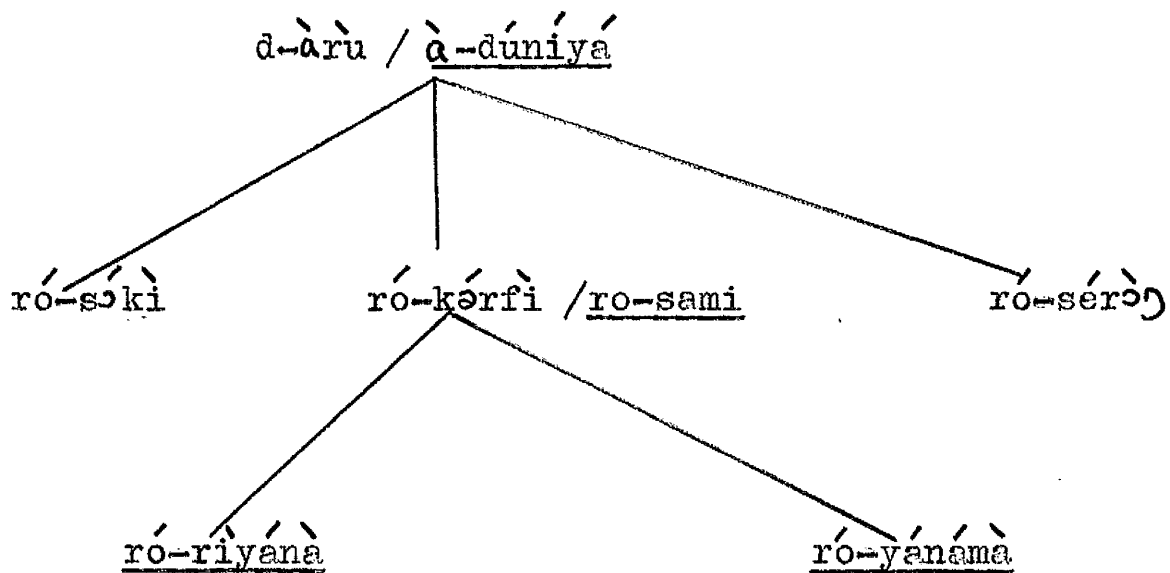
M ǵàrjáná, S ǵàríyáná (A. al <sup>janna</sup> ~~janna~~) ǵ -ríyánà (as for M/S)  
Heaven

M jáhánámá, S yáhánámá      ǵ -yánámà (as for M/S)  
(A. jahānnam) Hell

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<sup>See</sup>  
1. A.K. Turay, 'Temne supernatural terminology' op.cit.

According to traditional Temne belief, every dead ~~dead~~ person goes to ró-kárfi, (locative prefix + -kárfi), there being no division between places for bad or good people. The indigenous word ù-kárfi, even though now meaning Evil spirit, may be assumed originally to have had its literal meaning, Dead Ancestor (ù-kâr Pillar, + -fi Dead). It is to these dead pillars of the community that offerings, s-áthka (see 3.412), are made, the semantic change of ù-kárfi from Dead Ancestor to Evil spirit being probably due to the influence of Islam, which introduced the concepts of Hell and Heaven. The meaning of à-dúniyá has, in line with its indigenous counterpart, been extended to include Crowd. The following diagram illustrates the concepts of the world in traditional Temne belief, comparing it with the new concept that were introduced because of Islam. There were only two levels in the Temne World concept, the world of the living, d-àrù or à-dúniyá (< M dúnyá), and the world of the dead, ró-kárfi or ró-sámi (< S sámi). The influence of Islam saw the introduction of a third layer, that of Heaven and Hell. Despite these ideas of Heaven and Hell, the Temne still make offerings to the ancestors whom they consider as being in ró-kárfi, where they are all in communion with God, k-urû.



Loanwords in the diagram are underlined.

ró-sóki<sup>1</sup> is the world of spirits, seen only by those with second sight; ró-séròŋ is the world of witches.

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1. See J. Littlejohn, 'The Temne House', Sierra Leone Studies, 14, 1960, pp. 63-79;

D. Dalby and A. Kamara, 'Vocabulary of Temne Ragbenle society' African Language Review, 3, 1964, pp. 35-41.

### 3.432 Spiritual Beings

#### MANDING/SUSU

#### TEMNE

M málíkí, S m̀arígí (A. malik)  
King, Lord, master

ù-márkí God

nábí (A. nabī) Prophet

ù-nábì God

S m̀alékè (A. malāk) Angel,  
innocent child

ù-malékà (as for Susu)

setani (A. šaitan) Satan, devil

sèthànì Satan evil spirit  
-sèthànì Likeable rogue,  
rebel

jíná (A. jīnn) Demon, spirit  
(harmful or benign)

à-yíná Benign spirit

dònsó Hunter

à-rònsó Hunter's guardian  
spirit, believed to  
carry a hunting-bag

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~~also D. Dalby and A. Kanara, Vocabulary of Temne Bagbenle  
society, African Language Review, 3, 1964, pp. 35-42.~~

Although there is an indigenous <sup>term</sup> for God, kúŕû, the Temne have nevertheless borrowed the Arabic-derived items meaning King and Prophet in Manding and Susu as epithets for God. The Arabic-derived term alla<sup>1</sup> occurring in Manding, Susu and ~~several~~ <sup>many</sup> other languages in West Africa has not been borrowed into Temne. There is very little reference to the Prophet among the Temne who use the ancestors as intermediaries between themselves and God when making offerings (s-áthkà).

Sètháni is a powerful spirit opposed to the authority of God, the meaning of this term now <sup>being</sup> extended to a rebel; the use of Sètháni does not necessarily have demonic or evil associations, a likeable 'rogue',<sup>2</sup> being often referred to by this term. à-yiná and ù-màlékà, though considerably less powerful than sètháni, are also considered benign guardian spirits.

à-rònsó, the only item in this category derived from an indigenous Manding/Susu source, may sometimes be good, making ~~some~~ people successful hunters, or wicked, inflicting illness such as rash on the skin.

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1. cf. Koelle, Polyglotta Africana, London, 1854, pp. 74-5.

2. A child's book of stories translated into Temne refers to Robin Hood as Sètháni.

### 3.44 Literacy, Charms, Divination and Magic

Since literacy in Arabic is so closely bound<sup>up</sup> with the use of the knowledge obtained from learning the Arabic script,<sup>and</sup> with the making of charms, it is therefore necessary to discuss them here together.

#### 3.441 Literacy

##### MANDING/SUSU

M káfá Book

wá-lá-ká <sup>al-lauha</sup> (A. alwah) Writing  
tablet

S dúbá Ink

S marábú (A. <sup>al-murābiṭ</sup> ~~arab~~) Arabic,  
Arabic script

kà-rán (A. qara'a Recite,  
read) Study, read

kà-rám'g' ( kà-rán + m'g' Man)  
Teacher

kà-rándé (kà-rán + dén Child)  
Pupil

##### TEMNE

k-á-fá Book, Koran

à-wálkà (as for M/S)

r-úbá Ink

m-à-rábú Arabic script

=kà-râj (as for M/S)

ù-kàrm'k' Teacher, (esp. of  
Koran, cf. ù-títa,  
7.43 )

ù-kà-rándé (as for M/S)

MANDING/SUSU

TEMNE

S kàràndé (kàrán + dé Place)

k-àrànthé (as for Susu)

Koranic school

sálamúde' (A. <sup>salāma</sup> ~~salām~~ Peace)

=sálamúthi Go from door

Recite Verses of

to door (of ù-kàràndé

Koran

Pupil) reciting

verses of the Koran

while begging for

alms

'Literacy' in Arabic among the Temne mostly implies the ability to decipher the Arabic script used in the Koran, i.e. classical Arabic. The 'school' may have about a dozen pupils, or maybe up to twenty for <sup>a</sup> famous teacher#, ù-kàrmókó. Lessons are held in the compound of the teacher, with the pupils sitting round a bonfire in the evenings as a source of light. The pupils memorise Koranic passages written out on their writing tablets, à-wálkà, which are cleaned for more passages when a pupil recites successfully what the teacher has written for him. After a large section of the Koran has been memorised, without any attempt at telling the pupil what



he is reading, ù-kàràndé then proceeds to the next stage, =tháfsírú (see 4.23 ), in which he is taught chants in Temne which are supposed commentaries on the Koran. Any written piece of Arabic, m-àràbú, is treated with reverence, spoken Arabic, as used by the Lebanese in Sierra Leone, not being treated with the same reverence.

The teachers often combine this function with that of diviners and charm-makers (see 3.442). As a supplement to what they receive from è-yáká, Alms, (see 3.412) the marabouts also send out their pupils to go round, reciting texts from the Koran, when people are morally required to give them food, clothes, or money. <sup>A</sup>~~The~~ pupils, being under a solemn oath to take back every part of the proceeds of such begging-rounds, =sálómúthí, to the teacher, usually receives nothing for his labours. This use of pupils by Manding and Susu marabouts contrasts sharply with that of the Fula, who condemn the practice. But the Fula, on the other hand, because they are engaged in other occupations like cattle-rearing and millet-farming, use their own pupils as a labour force for the manual work involved (see 4.23 ).

3.442 Charms, Divination and Magic

MANDING/SUSU

TEMNE

ká'lwá (A. kalwa) Retreat  
solitude

k-á'láwà Marabout's retreat  
into seclusion for  
the purpose of praying  
to achieve a special  
end

wá'áká (see 3.441)

à-wá'kà Tablet used as fetish  
to keep thieves and  
witches away

nási Mixture prepared  
by washing off  
Arabic writing from  
à-wá'kà, and thought  
to have strong  
magical powers

mè-nási (as for M/S)

sí'bé Writing; written amulet

à-sé'bé Amulet, talisman, piece  
of paper or cloth  
with Arabic writing  
thought to be a strong  
protection against  
evil

MANDING/SUSU

TEMNE

S yinámúsá Divination of a wrongdoers' identity in which somebody covered with a white cloth peers into a bowl of water while a marabout recites extracts from the Koran, counting his beads

à -yinámúsá (as for Susu)

M kòrètí, S kòrté Magic spell

k-òrthé (as for M/S)

móri Marabout, Muslim charm-maker

ù-móre Muslim, charm-maker, esp. Manding/Susu marabout

More than anything else, the power of using the Koran and knowledge of the Arabic script helped to entrench the position of Manding, Susu, and more latterly Fula marabouts among the Temne. Traditional forms of divination and charm-making existed among the Temne, as well as a traditional official, ù-mên, responsible for the making of these. The arrival of the marabouts did not basically alter the belief of the Temne in the powers of

charms; if anything, the marabouts had everything to gain by not discouraging these beliefs, merely replacing them traditional forms of divining<sup>1</sup> and charms by new ones based on the Koran. This resulted in a sharp decline in the power of ù-mîn, who was now consulted only by the poorer section of the community which could not afford the fees asked by the marabouts.

As a form of divination, à-wálkà replaced the indigenous rè-gbèt, Cane used for the identification of culprits. In this form of divination, the ù-mîn (or ù-mòrè in the case of à-wálkà) causes somebody carrying a cane to tremble all over as if possessed, and in this state is guided to the wrongdoer. As fetish against witchcraft and thieves, à-wálkà may now be seen hanging from tree-tops in places where the indigenous à-wánkà, Prohibitive fetish, once hung. Both mè-nási and à-síbê have also become more widely used than their respective indigenous counterparts, mè-fòy, Potent mixture made from leaves, and mè-bánî, Amulet made from cowries and sticks, although in secret society rituals the traditional mè-fòy is always used.

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1. See V.R. Dorjahn, 'Some aspects of Temne Divination',  
Sierra Leone Bulletin of Religion, 4, 1, June 1962, pp. 1-9.

à-yinámúsá, though considered a most reliable form of identifying culprits, is also thought to carry the danger of making the person peering into the bowl of water mad.

The following table summarises the indigenous items of divination and protective magic among the Temne, and the marabout-inspired forms which are largely replacing them.

<u>Indigenous</u>		<u>Manding/Susu</u>
ù-mân Diviner, charm maker	→	ù-mórê
râ-gbát Cane for culprit identi- fication	→	à-wálkà
à-wánkà Protective fetish		
mà-fòv Potent liquid	→	mà-násî
mà-bani, Protective fetish	→	à-síbê

### 3.45 Chieftaincy, Kinship

#### 3.451 Chieftaincy

##### MANDING/SUSU

S kándè Prince (i.e. chief's  
son)

M mǎnsá King, chief

M fǎríma War leader

M álkáli (A. al qādī Judge)  
Chief

`alimámí (A. al imām Imam)  
Sub-chief

sántígí Village chief

tábulé (A. atbāl Drum) Large  
drum used for calling  
to prayer or meeting

tasàbíyá (A. tasbiḥat) Rosary

##### TEMNE

ù-kándè Paramount chief

ù-mǎnsá Chief

ù-fǎrmá Chief (in Kambia)

ù-díkáli Chief (in Port Loko)

ù-lēmámì Sub-chief

à-sǎnthkí Village section-  
chief

à-thóbùlé Drum for calling  
to prayer, meeting,  
or announcing the  
presence of a chief

à-thàsàbíyá Rosary (used  
in installation of  
chief)

The indigenous generic term for a chief ù-bàý ~~in~~ includes sub-chiefs as well as those listed here, all being personal titles used by chiefs in various parts of Temneland. The chiefs of Kambia and Port Loko, both Muslim chiefdoms, are known respectively as Fármá and Dìkálí. The title of Kándè is used by a few Loko chiefs whose areas have been under Islamic influence. Although in Temne chieftaincy ù-lèmámì is a sub-chief under the ù-bàý, in the Fula influenced Sanda Temne area and the surrounding Limba chiefdoms, ù-lèmámì is the equivalent of ù-bàý.

The influence of Muslim marabouts over the Temne is apparent in chieftaincy; Manding and Susu became king-makers, they themselves sometimes being made sub-chiefs over parts of the chiefdoms. The organisation of chieftaincy in non-Muslim chiefdoms has been altered to accommodate the Muslim marabouts and 'strangers' who do not wish to <sup>be</sup> ruled by Temne native laws and custom. The chief, overlord of the chiefdom, has, immediately under him, two deputies, ù-lèmámì, who is the Islamic sub-chief, and à-kápèr mèn-sèm the man in charge of all the indigenous sacred ceremonies.

Under the ù-làmámì are a number of à-sànthkî, all installed in an Islamic ceremony and not necessarily members of the secret society. Under the à-kápèr mè-sàm are a number of à-kápèr<sup>1</sup>, who must all be members of the secret society ruling the chiefdom, each à-kápèr being allocated ~~with~~ special duties. Important decisions affecting the chiefdom are taken in the secret society bush to which ù-làmámì and à-sànthkî cannot go, being Muslim\*strangers and non-members of the secret society. Even though the 'strangers' have been accommodated<sup>m</sup> in the administrative structure of the chiefdom, they are thus effectively shut out from taking part in crucial decisions. The office of à-kápèr does not exist in Muslim chiefdoms where the administration is not segregated.

The Rosary à-thàsàbíyá which ù-bày carries round his neck on the day of his official installation

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1. Some of the more prominent à-kápèr and their duties are:

(à)kápèr kúamá (Te. k-úamá, Box) Chiefdom Treasurer

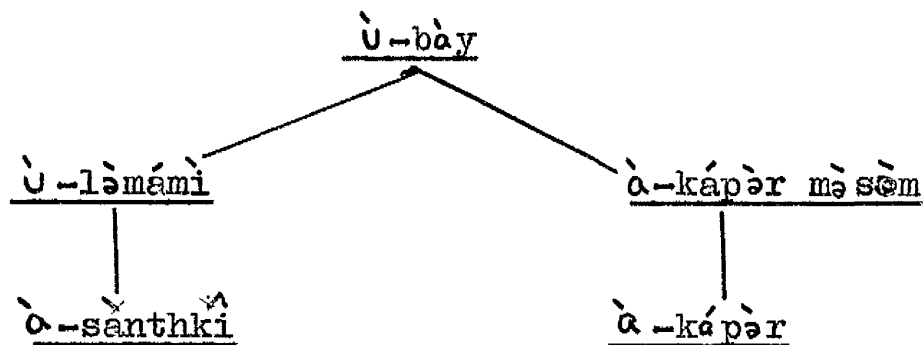
(à)kápèr fénthí (Te. -fénthí, Neat, Clean) Responsible for seeing that villages in the chiefdom are kept clean

(à)kápèr kénthí (Te. =kénthí Gossip) Responsible for keeping the chief informed about what is going on; ~~secret society~~

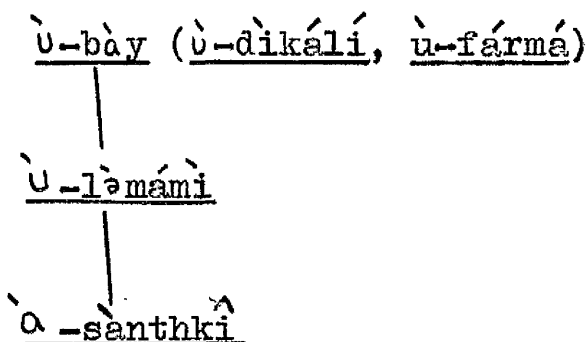


is in recognition of the Muslim section in the community. The two diagrams below illustrate the organisation of (1) a Poro controlled chiefdom, showing the various officials discussed here and their relative positions, and <sup>(2)</sup> ~~(the second)~~, illustrating the organisation in a Muslim chiefdom.

1) Poro controlled chiefdom



2) Muslim chiefdom



It should be noted that while the chief in a Poro controlled chiefdom has his installation conducted partly in the secret society bush and conducted partly through Islamic rites, the Muslim chief has his installation only through Islamic rites.

### 3.452 Relationship, Kinship

#### MANDING/SUSU

#### TEMNE

lá sírí<sup>1</sup> Ancestor, aboriginal,  
citizen; ancestor cult

ù-lá sírí<sup>2</sup> Ancestor, original  
founder of village;  
descendant of such  
person

M dùgùlé, S dùgùré Citizen,  
inhabitant (of)

ù-dùré Citizen, inhabitant

bémbá Ancestor, grandfather

ù-bémbá Ancestor  
kè-bémbá Ancestor mask worn  
by senior male  
guardian of boys  
undergoing circum-  
cision

- 
1. M. Delafosse, La Langue Mandingue, vol. 2, Paris 1955, p. 664, derives this term from M sírí, Tie, Acquaintance, hence lá sírí with the reconstructed sense of Power of communicating with spirits through sacrifice, ancestor worship. Trimmingham, op. cit., p. 53, suggests that the term expresses the possibility of having divine links, also associating it with the cult of <sup>the</sup> family-founder and spirit of <sup>the</sup> soil on which <sup>the</sup> family was founded.

MANDING/SUSU

TEMNE

S t`àrá Elder (male or female)	th`àrá Term for addressing an elder female
M k`òd` Old, elder(male or female)	k`òth` Term for addressing an elder male
S báde Favourite wife	`u-báthé (as for Susu)
S fadé <del>ni</del> Blood relative	`u-fadé Enemy(especially within the family)
M j`atígí, S y`atígí Host	`u-yáth`kí <sup>1</sup> Friend

`u-lásári is an ancestor who was the original founder of the settlement, being formerly referred to as `u-kárfi (see 3.432), an indigenous item whose original meaning has undergone considerable change. The direct line of descendants of this family/village founder ancestor to whom the annual offering of =lòŋ á- b`òyá (see 3.412) is rendered, are also known as à-lásári, thus distinguishing

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1. This is discussed under Pious behaviour, 3.421.

them from the other inhabitants, ù-dùré. The major difference between ù-dùré and ù-lásáři is that while they share the same rights, the landowners and those entitled to chieftaincy belong exclusively to the class of ù-lásáři. A third category of inhabitant in a town is referred to by the <sup>indigenous</sup> term ù-tík ~~(*temne*)~~ Stranger, an inhabitant whose parents were not originally inhabitants of the particular town; his children or grandchildren may be called ù-dùré. The distinctions between ù-lásáři, ù-dùré, and ù-tík are now very confused; the transition from ù-tík to ù-dùré is to some extent arbitrary. Moreover, the child of ù-tík may become ù-lásáři if the stranger marries into a family of ù-lásáři. The Manding and Susu marabouts profited from these arrangements since, because of their prestige, they usually married the daughters of ù-lásáři. Their children could thus become chiefs and landowners.<sup>1</sup>

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1. This explains, to a large extent, the fact that the most common clan names today among the Temne, Kamara, Konte, Sisay, Dumbuya, Tarawali, and Turay, are all Manding-derived.

It is disrespectful to address an elder by his or her name without prefixing the appropriate title. Temne has borrowed the terms for an elder male or female from Manding and Susu respectively, giving both of them <sup>narrowed</sup> ~~reduced~~ meanings, thus making their application more specific.

The term ù-báthé is not a permanent title held by a single wife, since the husband's favours may change. In most homes, however, the oldest wife normally enjoys this status. ù-fàdé, though meaning a blood relative in the source language Susu, has the meaning of enemy in Temne, especially a blood relation and more particularly a half brother or sister in a polygamous home (i.e. having a different mother).

### 3.46 Measurement (Time, Numbers, Units of Measurement)

#### 3.461 Time, Days of the Week

##### MANDING/SUSU

##### TEMNE

síbírí (A. şibr ) Short span  
of time

à-síbrí (as for M/S)

wákátú (A. waqat) Time span,  
moment

à-wàkàthì period of time  
lasting between half  
an hour to three hours

yámánú (A. zaman) Reign, epoch

à-yámáná (as for M/S)

ténén (A. al-ithnain) Monday

à-thèné (as for M/S)

tálátá (A. al-talata) Tuesday

à-thaláthà (as for M/S)

árábá (A. al-arba'a) Wednesday

à-rábà (as for M/S)

àlakámísá (A. al-kamīs) Thursday

à-lèkámísá (as for M/S)

M àrjúmá, S àryúmá (A. al-jum'a)

à-yúmá (as for M/S)

Friday

síbítí (A. as-sabt) Saturday

à-símthí (as for M/S)

M láhádí, S láxátí (A. al-ahd)

à-làyíthí (as for M/S)

Sunday

The days of the week are now rarely referred to by their Arabic-derived forms, English-derived forms having replaced them (see 7.497). The exception is à-yúmà, Friday, still used frequently in reference to the day of community prayer at the Mosque.

à-yàmaná is used to refer to an historical period, often associated with a particular name or event e.g. à-yàmaná gá Gbánkà, During the reign of Gbanka, or à-yàmaná gá ká-tím ké-bàrà, lit., The period of the big fight, t, i.e. The World war.

### 3.462 Numbers

#### MANDING/SUSU

wúlú Thousand

kémé Hundred

#### TEMNE

à-wûl Thousand

k-émé Hundred

These words were probably borrowed into Temne through their use in inter-ethnic trading. Kola nuts, a principal trade commodity from the Temne to the Susu, were measured in hundreds and thousands (and it is likely that these terms were borrowed through the medium of this particular trade). Apart from units of money borrowed

from English (via Krio), where number terms are used as parts of compound words for money and measuring units ( see 7.493 and 7.495), only the terms for a million (à-míliyòn ) and a dozen (à-rósin, see 7.496), together with the two discussed in this section, have been borrowed into Temne as terms referring to numbers. Corry<sup>1</sup> recorded the indigenous phrase 'tofot tofot' ( \*t.fɔt tɔfɔt, lit Ten ten) for Hundred in 1807. By the time Schlenker<sup>2</sup> compiled his dictionary, however, this phrase appears to have gone out of use, the Manding/Susu-derived à-wùl having<sup>by</sup> then been established in Temne.

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1. J. Corry, op.cit. p.159.

2. Schlenker, op.cit.



### 3.463 Implements (as Units of Measurements)

MANDING/SUSU	TEMNE
gálámá Calabash spoon	`a -kàlmá (as for M/S)
jàngàbiné Large metal cooking spoon	kə-yànkàbiné (as for M/S)
lèfá Raffia woven plate	`a -lèfá (as for M/S)

Although all these implements are ~~all~~ associated with food, they are also important as units of measurement and there is a probability of their having come into Temne through <sup>the</sup> medium of trade. English-derived, as well as Portuguese-derived implements have been used <sup>also</sup> as units of measurement (see 7.495 and 9.43 respectively).

### 3.47 Music<sup>1</sup>

#### MANDING/SUSU

jèlí, S yèlí Minstrel,  
professional musician  
combining functions of  
praise singer and  
narrator of oral  
tradition

M jèlibá ,S yèlibá Leading  
minstrel (M. jèlí +  
bá Big)

M. bálá, S báányí xylophone

dúnún Drum type

kòndí Guitar

#### TEMNE

ù-yèlí (as for M/S), also  
chief's spokesman,  
jester

ù-yèlibá Professional  
Manding or Susu  
musician;praise singer  
for alms;persuasive  
speaker, confidence  
trickster, beggar

è-báálá (as for M/S)

à-rùnú Drum type, used esp.  
by the Poro

à-kòndí Sansa

Although ù-yèlibá and ù-yèlí are derived from the  
same source, they <sup>have</sup> different applications in Temne. Whereas

ù-yèlí, in the sense of Chief's spokesman and jester, is always a Temne; ù-yèlibá, as a professional musician and praise singer, is always Manding or Susu. Sometimes the duties of ù-yèlí include entertaining the chief and his counsellors, often playing the one-string-violin<sup>1</sup> while singing songs in Temne. ù-yèlibá, on the other hand, is often hired for a fee to perform at important festivals, alone or in a group of several musicians playing different instruments (including è-báláɲ and à-rùnú). Their songs are always in Manding or Susu, even where the individual whose praises are being sung may not understand any of these languages. Alone among the musical instruments listed above, è-báláɲ is not played by the Temne since the professional Manding and Susu ù-yèlibá protect their monopoly of this instrument with a taboo against its playing by non-professionals.

à-kòndí, though the name is derived from Manding

- 
1. This one-string-violin is known in Temne as rà-fón (lit. Hair) or à-gbúlú; see A.K. Turay, 'A Vocabulary of Temne Musical Instruments' African Language Review, 5, 1966, p. 27

and Susu, is not played by Manding and Susu peoples of Sierra Leone. An alternative term for this instrument, à-thùthé (see

6.134) is derived from Limba thuthuthe; the Limba being considered the most expert players of ~~this instrument~~ <sup>the Sansa.</sup>

Although the term à-thùthé is now considered archaic for referring to the Sansa, it is probable that this was the more common name for this instrument until the Manding/Susu term for guitar was borrowed by the Temne to refer to a sansa. The use of the Manding/Susu -derived term again reflects the prestige which the Temne attached to words from this source which in many cases are considered more prestigious or pious according to the context (see 3.48).

### 3.48 Insults

#### MANDING/SUSU

#### TEMNE

M jánkálémá dé, S yánkámádí

ù-yánkámàdí (as for M/S)

Bastard

bìlákóró Uncircumcised  
child

ù-bìlákóró Uncircumcised  
(as insult to adults)

M fóntóbálin Irresponsible  
M jábí, S yábí Reply, answer

ù-fónthóbá Inconsequential,  
man of no means

M jábí, S yábí Reply, answer

=yábí Retort, answer back in  
an insulting manner

As terms of insult, Manding and Susu loanwords have a greater impact than indigenous terms, the reason being that the former are associated with Islam and are considered not only as simple insults but also as suggestions that one has acted impiously. Whereas indigenous items of insult may be used <sup>as</sup> pleasantries between friends, these loanwords are taken seriously as insults and are avoided even among friends, e.g. ù-yánkámàdí and the indigenous phrase wàn ká-puré (lit. child of a lover) both mean Bastard, but whereas one could use the indigenous phrase in exchanging jokes with a friend, ù-yánkámàdí would be avoided. In the following table, the Manding/Susu-derived terms of insult on the left hand column are considered more severe than their corresponding Temne indigenous phrases and words on the right hand column:

<u>ù-bilakóró</u> Uncircumcised	<u>ù-té fì á-tòl</u> (lit. one not initiated into a secret society)
<u>ù-yánkámàdí</u> Bastard	<u>w-àn ká-puré</u> Bastard
<u>ù-fónthóbá</u> Man of straw	<u>w-ùní pójí</u> Man of no means
<u>=yábí</u> Insult	<u>=nàl</u> Insult

~~3.49 Artisans, Foodstuffs~~

3.491 Artisans

MANDING/SUSU

TEMNE

garángé Leather worker

ù-káránké (as for M/S)

kámúdírí Carpenter

ù-kámdèr ( as for M/S)

S òábúi Blacksmith

ù-kàbí (as for Susu)

Leather-workers among the Temne are mostly of Manding or Susu origin, though occasionally Fula. Like that of the professional musician (ù-yèlibá, see 3.47), the profession of the leather-worker has not become established among the Temne; there are however, Temne blacksmiths and carpenters. ù-káránké plays an important complementary role to the marabout, ù-móré, since the charms and amulets made by the latter have to be bound by the leather-worker before they can be used.

3.492 Foodstuffs

MANDING/SUSU

TEMNE

lémuré Orange

à-lémré (as for M/S)

mánkóró Mango

à-mánkóró (as for M/S)

M jábá, S yábá Onion

à-yábá (as for M/S)

MANDING/SUSU

TEMNE

nónó Sour cow's milk

mè-nónô (as for Manding/Susu)

S fúláyá Butter prepared  
by the Fula

mè-fóláyá (as for M/S)

Apart from the last two, the other foodstuffs listed in this section are popular among the Temne. mè-nónô and mè-fóláyá are prepared and sold by the Fula who do not refer to these products by the Manding/Susu -derived items, using the Fula kosam and ɲɛbam respectively for these.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### 4. FULA LOANWORDS

#### 4.1 Introduction

4.11 The Fula of Sierra Leone are part of a larger group extending from Mauritania and Senegal in the west to Chad and Niger in Central Africa, being variously called Peul by the French, Fulani in Nigeria, and Felata by the Kamuri. They call themselves pulo (pl. fulɓɛ) but are known as folá by most other ethnic groups in Sierra Leone (Te. ù-fólá, pl. à-fólá). In Sierra Leone, they inhabit the grassland areas of Northern Bombali, Eastern Port Loko and Southern Koinandugu Districts, engaging in cattle rearing, and to a lesser extent, millet farming. Unlike the Maninka who, on migrating into Temneland, settled among the Temne in the towns and villages, the Fula built their own separate villages in the grassland areas where there was ample grazing ground for their cattle.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Thus, in many Temne towns, there is often a section inhabited predominantly by Maninka (Manding) known as Manikala; there are, on the other hand, several villages in Temneland (e.g. Rokulan, Rotimbo, Roworeh) known as Fula villages, there being no such equivalent village for the Maninka.



Quite apart from the convenience of being close to the grazing areas, an important reason for the Fula starting separate communities from the Temne was that the Fula, who ~~are~~ Muslim, consider the Temne as heathen~~s~~ ( à-káfrì), and thus did not wish to live in Temne communities where they would be subject to non-Muslim law and custom.<sup>1</sup>

4.12 It is not known when the Fula and Temne first came into contact but the Futa Jallon highlands to the north of Sierra Leone, a major centre of Fula settlement and expansion, have an important place in Temne tradition. The Temne consider their chiefs as coming, on their coronation, from Futa where they again return on their death, being accompanied on both occasions by their mothers<sup>2</sup>, who are always referred to as Na Futa during their sons' reign.

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1. Even today, the Fula still refer to all other ethnic groups in Sierra Leone as kafiri or macudò (slaves), including even those who profess Islam.
  2. C.F. Schlenker, A Collection of Temne Traditions, Fables and Proverbs, London, 1861.

But this tradition probably goes back to the pre-Susu and pre-Fula era in Futa; the distribution of the Landuma, Baga, and Temne, all Mel people, around the Futa Jallon area suggests this area as the <sup>old</sup> homeland of the ~~old~~ Northern Mel people. As they were pushed away from this homeland first by the Susu (following Sundiata's victory over the Susu in 1233)<sup>1</sup> and later by the Fula jihad of 1725, forcing the Susu to push farther south into the Mel homeland, it appears that the Mel people retained their allegiance to their original homeland through this tradition linking them with Futa; even today, the Temne still claim that they came from ró-thóròŋ, North-east, the direction in which Futa lies. This tradition, therefore, is not relevant in considering the more recent Fula contacts with the Temne.

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1. D.T.Niane, 'Recherches sur l'Empire du Mali au Moyen Age', Recherches Africaines, No.1 (Jan.-March 1960), pp.17-36.

4.13 Cultural contact between the Temne and Fula has been greatest with the Sanda Temne from among whom many ~~many~~ Fula have chosen their wives. The Sanda Temne are also the most Islamised Temne because of this Fula influence, a very large number of them having studied the Koran and in a few cases having become Koranic teachers (ò-kàrmókó) in their turn, otherwise a very rare occupation for a Temne. The Fula are recognised as teachers of the Koran and Islam, and even though they have lived mostly in the restricted area of Sanda Temne, their fame and influence have been ~~were~~ such that Sanda became the 'Koranic centre' of Sierra Leone, to which Temne, as well as other ethnic groups, send their children for education. These children on completing their studies, which normally last between five to seven years, return to their homes with considerably increased prestige in their respective communities. Even though Maninka and Susu marabouts preceded the Fula in using the Koran for the purpose of making charms among the Temne, it was the Fula who came to be recognised as teachers of

the Koran, being generally referred to as ù-kàrmó'kó, (see 3.441). Their reputation as Koranic teachers also gave them a higher reputation among the Temne as charm makers than the previously established Maninka and Susu marabouts, the services of a Fula marabout still being more expensive to obtain. Their ~~most~~ method of divination and magic, however, involves prayer as in k-áláwá, =wúrdú and =móró (see below), a great majority of Fula condemning the use charms, à-sí bē and mè-násí (3.442).

4.14 The influence of the Fula as Koranic teachers is evidenced by the fact that the Arabic alaphet is taught, even by Maninka teachers, using Fula names for the characters. The following is part of the alaphabet as taught by the à-kàrmó'kó in the Northern province in Sierra Leone:

alif | , when used to indicate length, thus, / is called àlíf yówídò i.e. Hanging alif (F. yowidò Hanging over); when it is the bearer of the hamza, it is known as àlíf táyò (F. tayò, Cut, short);

bā ب, standing alone is known simply as bā, but when it is joined to a following letter, thus ب, it is known as bā dógúdò, i.e. The running bā (F. dogu Run);

tā ت, in all positions is tā tóbē i.e. The dotted tā, (F. tō bōē, ~~is~~ Dot);

tā ت, in all positions is sā tóbē i.e. Dotted sā;

hā ح , há mawódò , Capital hā (F. maudò , Elder, master);  
hā د , há píbò , Knotted hā (F. pible , ~~Kn~~ Knot; pibol Tying);  
tā ب , tā kóingal , tā with a foot (F. kóingal , Leg, foot);  
zā ب , sā kóingal , sā with a foot;  
sīn س , síjinyè , sīn with the teeth (F. jinja Tooth);  
shīn ش , síjinyétóbè , sīn with the teeth and dots;  
sād ص , sárédu , sā with the stomach (F. reedu Stomach);  
dād ض , dárédu , dā with the stomach;  
ain ع , áyndaridò , The upright ayn (F. daridum Upright);  
ain ع (medial) , áyn wálidò , The reclining ayn (F. wala ,  
Lie down, recline);  
kāf ق , kāf tógbódò , The dotted kāf (F. toǒbòdum Dotted);  
kāf ك , kāf dógúdò , The running kāf (F. dogu Run);

4.15 Despite this Fula terminology, employed by the Temne in learning Arabic, only very few Fula words (direct or of Arabic origin) have been borrowed into Temne, the spiritual terms relating to Islam having been borrowed from the Manding and Susu marabouts. There are, however, some words borrowed from Manding and/or Susu into Temne to which the Fula take objection, an example being k-áfâ ,

a Manding-derived term used by the Temne for Koran. The Fula consider this a 'pagan' term and its use ~~non-considered~~ 'uneducated' (i.e. implying an inability to 'make out',<sup>1</sup> the Arabic script), the Fula-derived à-lèkùrân having largely taken its place. The use of the term ù-nábì to refer to God (see 3.432) is likewise criticised by the Fula and Sanda Temne who use ù-nábì for Prophet, a usage which, like other Fula-derived Islamic words, is considered educated. This Fula and Sanda Temne influence is also seen at the phonological level, where some Islamic words originally borrowed from Manding and Susu are undergoing changes in pronunciation, the more recent Fula-derived pronunciation being considered more 'correct', i.e. approximating more closely to the original Arabic forms, and occurring more frequently in religious discussion. Thus the Manding/Susu-derived à-wúthpà is being replaced by the Fula-derived à-kútúbà, and à-wálkà by à-wàlá.

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1. See Section 4.23

4.16 In addition to these semantic and phonological differences between Manding/Susu -derived and Fula-derived loanwords ~~in Temne~~ of ultimate Arabic origin, certain customs relating to the practice of Islam and teaching of the Koran, taught to the Temne by the earlier Manding and Susu marabouts, are condemned by the Fula as 'pagan', these including the ceremony of à-wúthpà, involving all-night dancing and singing in the streets to mark the end of Ramadan. This ceremony is being replaced, especially in Sanda Temne and parts of Port Loko and Koinadugu Districts, where there is very strong Fula influence, by à-kútúbà, involving the reading of verses from the Koran all night in the Mosque. Sending students (à-kàràndé) from door to door begging for alms while reciting sections of the Koran is also criticised by the Fula, who have succeeded in discouraging this in many parts of the Northern Province. Many Fula clerics disapprove of the use of charms and amulets; the most successful concept which they have preached to counter what they consider a corrupt form of religion is =wákílé, Trust in God, which requires the burning of charms and amulets (è-sébê see 3.442), as well as à-wánká and other indigenous <sup>fetishes</sup> ~~idols~~. Despite their enthusiasm, however, the trade in Koranic charms and amulets, no longer a Manding/Susu monopoly, is still widespread.

4.17 Temne has also borrowed Fula items relating to reading and writing (=síkrá, =dúrsí), and cattle keeping ( kè-wèré , kè-dínkirá, and à-mámárè). It must be noted, however, that though the Fula have an almost exclusive monopoly in the trade of sour milk and unrefined butter, the names for these two commodities, mè-nónô and mè-fóláyá respectively in Temne, are borrowed from Manding and Susu and not Fula, the Fula words for these being kosam and nyɛbam. The reason for this may be due to the fact that Manding/Susu contacts with the Fula predated those between the Fula and Temne, these words having been already known to the Temne from the Manding and Susu before the <sup>beginning</sup> ~~start~~ of Fula influence on the Temne.



## 4.2

### ~~4.2.1~~ Semantic Categories

## 4.2

### ~~4.2.1~~ Semantic Categories

#### ~~4.2.1.1~~ Prayer and Divination

Since most of the forms of divination used by the Fula involve special kinds of prayer, prayer and divination are considered here under a single heading. Words relating to the usual everyday Muslim prayers are discussed under Manding (see 3.4.1). Even though many Fula clerics have been critical of the Manding and Susu marabouts' use of the Koran for the purpose of making charms and divination, a number of them (Fula) have used their knowledge of the Koran to benefit themselves in a similar way as the Manding and Susu marabouts. Though not making charms, (à-sébê and mè-nésî) Fula marabouts are hired by Temne who want supernatural assistance in achieving their ends and, to this purpose, the Fula use the methods discussed below.

#### FULA

#### TEMNE

wirdu (A. wīrd) Special  
prayer

=wúrdú Special prayer by Fula  
cleric on behalf of a  
~~somebody~~ client

tagara (A. istikara)  
Meditation, (of a  
future event)

=thákará Put written prayer  
under pillow to induce  
dream about specific  
event

## FULA

## TEMNE

kalwa (A. kalwa) Retreat,  
solitude for the  
purpose of prayer

k-áláwá Retreat, seclusion  
for several days by  
Fula cleric to pray for  
a specific purpose which  
he wishes to achieve

wakilɛ (A. wakala) To entrust  
oneself to God (also  
F. tawakaltu, A. tawakala  
Trust in God)

=wákílɛ (as for Fula)  
=tháwákálthú (as <sup>for Fula</sup> ~~above~~)

mɔra To do the hair, hold the  
head

=móró Hold a patient's  
head while reciting  
a prayer, a common  
method used by the  
Fula as cure for mental  
illness

The Temne consider the Fula as even more powerful and efficient marabouts than their Manding and Susu predecessors, referring to them as à-mórébàna (M. móré + Te. bàna, Big). During k-áláwá, nobody ~~is supposed to~~ speaks to the marabout, who is supposed to be in constant prayer. Although <sup>k-áláwá</sup> ~~it~~ does not involve making charms (à-síbɛ and mà-nási) this is

the most expensive service obtainable from a marabout. It is believed that only very powerful marabouts can attempt k-áláwá since a man with lesser gifts might go mad in the process. Candidates for chieftaincy usually have ù-mórébàà to 'go into kalawa' to ensure their success. The successful candidate's marabout may then be invited to stay with the chief, sometimes even becoming ù-lèmámì and having the additional duty of making the chief's crown<sup>1</sup>. Both =wúrdú and =thákará also involve prayer without the making of charms. The reliance of the Fula marabouts on prayer to achieve their purposes is in keeping with their general condemnation of the use of charms, as well as their preaching of the concept of total submission to the will of God, =wákílé. This involves the avoidance of personal charms,

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1. The chiefs of the Limba and the Loko in Bombali are all referred to as Alimamy, each of them claiming Fula extraction. A possible explanation for this may be that their ancestors were in fact Fula marabouts who had been made Alimamy in these chiefdoms as rewards for having worked for successful chiefs.

and acceptance of God as one's guide and protector.

#### 4.22 Titles

##### FULA

##### TEMNE

fode Learned Muslim

ù-fódè Muslim cleric, Imam

muslimi (A. <sup>muslim</sup> ~~mu-ahlan~~)

ù-múslímì Devout Muslim

Muslim

waliyu (A. walīy) Holy man

ù-wàlíyù Holy man, Muslim reformer

Saint

believed to be divinely

inspired

sarifu (A. šarīf) Muslim

ù-sàrífù Muslim holy man with

holy man

powers of prophesy

ù-fódè is the most senior Muslim official in religious <sup>circles</sup> ~~circles~~ among the Temne, his functions including not only the leading of prayers, but also the administration of matters relating to the Mosque. The Arabic ~~not~~ al imam, Imam, has been borrowed into Temne only in the form ù-làmámì, who is a political rather than a spiritual head of a Muslim migrant

community. Both the positions of ù-fódè and ù-làmámì, still held in high esteem among the Temne, are now often held by Temne who frequently claim Fula descent if they are ù-fódè, or Maninka descent if ù-làmámì.

ù-wàliyù and ù-sàrifù are seen only rarely in Temne country, the most famous ù-wàliyù being the Muslim Moorish missionary Haidara, who worked among the Temne and Limba in Kambia in the mid-1920's<sup>1</sup>. In the writer's own experience, there has <sup>since</sup> been only one ù-sàrifù visiting Temne country, in 1948, when, being considered a direct descendant of the Prophet, it was <sup>deemed</sup> ~~considered~~ a blessing to see and touch him.

The term ù-múslímì is becoming more common than ù-mórê in referring to a Muslim. This is another word gaining currency because of Fula criticism of Manding/Susu terms, like ù-mórê, which implies a Muslim who believes in charms. This religious snobbery has resulted in many Islamic terms borrowed by the Temne from the Manding and Susu, and once considered elegant and pious, becoming less frequent since they are now themselves considered irreligious and inelegant (cf. F. à-lèkùrân and k-áfâ, ù-lèfá and ù-kàrmák, à-walá and à-wálkà).

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1. Sally Aldridge, Haidara Revolt, M.A. Thesis, S.O.A.S. 1969

#### 4.23 Reading and Writing

##### FULA

##### TEMNE

alkurana (A. al-qurʿān) Koran

à-ləkúrân Koran

aluha (A. alwah) Wooden

à-walá (as for Fula)

board used for

writing

ba (A. bā) Name of second  
letter in the Arabic  
alphabet, stage one  
in learning to read  
the Koran

è-bâ Stage one in learning  
to read the Koran

sigira Writing the vowel  
signs on an extract  
of Arabic writing,  
to help the student  
with pronunciation;  
stage two of learning  
to read the Koran

=síkrá (as for Fula)

dursi (A. darasa Study) Recite  
portions of the Koran;

=dúrsí (as for Fula)

stage three in learning  
to read the Koran

## FULA

## TEMNE

rendugol	Joining of letters,	=réndú	Straightforward reading,
	sounds and words		stage four in learning
			to read Koran

tafsiru (A. tāfsir)	Transla-	=tháfsirú	(as for Fula)
	tion of, and comment-		
	ary on the Koran		

sura (A. sūra)	Sura, chapter	`a-sórà	(as for Fula)
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carno	One who has completed	ù-térénò	(as for Fula)
	his Koranic studies		
	having passed tests in		
	translation and comment-		
	ary		

alfa (A. alfāqih)	Muslim	ù-lèfá	Fula scholar and
	scholar, Fula Koranic		Koranic teacher
	teacher, a 'Karmoko'		

The length of time spent in learning to read the Koran (five to seven years) is partly due to the fact that learning is divided into a number of stages, each lasting for a considerable period. The first of these, è-bâ, may last for over a year. During this period, the pupil spends only very little time in actual studies, being engaged for a greater part of his time doing various duties for his teacher who, not being paid a fee (though receiving gifts from the pupils' parents in the form of è-yáká, 3.4/2), feels justified in engaging his pupil in manual work. Many Fula clerics engage in millet farming or cattle rearing as a means of augmenting their income, the labour force for these occupations being provided by their pupils. Using pupils for manual work is made easier because the Fula, as stated above, live in separate communities away from the towns, and pupils sometimes have to travel long distances to go to these Fula areas where they often stay for several years, returning home only at the end of their studentship. This is in contrast with the Maninka teachers who, living in the towns with the indigenous population, have their pupils coming for only a few hours a day, returning to their various homes at the end of the lessons. The only use therefore, to which Maninka clerics can profitably <sup>put</sup> <sub>^</sub> their



pupils is sending them around during the day to beg for alms in the name of God (see =sálámúthí 3.4/2 ). This has resulted in the Temne terming the Maninka as beggars (ù-yèlibâ ) and the Fula referring to them as nyamakala (F. nyam, Eat + kalis Money) Money eaters, i.e. beggars.

=dúrsí does not begin until the third stage when the pupil has learnt to read a passage continuously; he is deemed to have learnt a section when he successfully recites (=dúrsí) in front of his teacher without making a mistake, continuing to do this until he can recite a substantial portion of the Koran. After this stage, the pupil merely reads directly from the board (à-wàlá) until he is able to decipher the whole Koran, when he goes back to the beginning for the fifth and final stage =tháfsíru. He takes the title ù-téránò immediately on the successful completion of his course, though becoming ù-làfá only if he starts his own school. Even though the generic term ù-kàrmóko is used for a Koranic teacher as well as being a nickname for all Fula, Fula Koranic teachers always refer to themselves as alfa, and, as with other Manding/Susu terms,

dislike being called ù-kàrmókó. Pupils are often identified as having Fula or Maninka teachers according to whether they refer to their teachers as ù-lèfá or ù-kàrmókó respectively. It is from this group of Alfas that the Imam (see ù-fódè) is usually appointed.

#### 4.24 Cattle Rearing and Farming

FULA	TEMNE
wuro , gore, Town,village	kè-wòré <del>Town</del> Village with cattle-grazing area
dingira Enclosure for cows	kè-dínkírá Enclosure in a village for cows
mamaare Old,past bearing age	à-mámárè Old female cow
worto Knife with curved handle and blade used for harvesting millet	à-wóorthó (as for Fula)

## CHAPTER FIVE

### 5. MENDE LOANWORDS

#### 5.1 Introduction

5.1.1 Mende constitutes the largest single speech community in Sierra Leone, the 1963 Census having estimated the number of native speakers at 672,831. This figure is 23,900 more than the 648,931 recorded for native speakers of Temne, the second largest speech community. Together with speakers of Mende as a second language (particularly among the Kissi, Kono, Vai and Bullom) the total number of Mende-speakers is probably over 800,000. They inhabit an area extending over 12,000 square miles in the southern half of Sierra Leone (together with a tiny enclave in Liberia), sharing a common boundary of over 250 miles with the Temne. To the east of the Mende are the Kono and Kissi, and to the west and south are the Bullom and Vai. The Mende speaking area has expanded considerably over the past half century, taking in much of former Vai and Bullom speaking territory. The Mende also defeated the Banta (a Temne sub-group) during the nineteenth century and occupied their territory, establishing Taiama as capital of the Kpa Mende.<sup>1</sup> Even though the Mende became known to

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1. E.A. Ijagbemi: A History of the Temne in the Nineteenth Century, Ph.D. Thesis, Edinburgh, 1968, p.260.

Europeans only in the late eighteenth century,<sup>1</sup> they have subsequently spread into areas formerly held by other ethnolinguistic groups, including the Temne. In almost every major town in Sierra Leone today, including Freetown, there is a large Mende community with a Mende Tribal Headman.<sup>2</sup>

5. 11½ Mende is part of the South-western group of Mande languages, the other members of the group being Loko (spoken in Northern Sierra Leone), Kpelle, Bandi and Loma (all spoken in Liberia). Loko is the only member of this group which is not contiguous with the others, being separated from the Mende by a wedge of Temne who, together with the Limba, completely surround the Loko. Conflicting reasons have been advanced as to why the Loko find themselves isolated from the rest of the south-western Mande group. One explanation is that they were a section of the Mende who were cut off from the main group by invading Temne.<sup>3</sup> The other is that they were a branch

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1. P.E.H.Hair, An Ethnolinguistic Inventory of the Upper Guinea Coast before 1700, African Language Review 6, 1967, pp.32-70.
  2. M.Banton, West African City, A study of Tribal Life in Freetown, Oxford 1957, pp.11-12.
  3. Oral tradition by Alimamy Sesay of Kalangba, recorded by A.K.Turay in December 1967.

of the Bandi who moved northward through Sierra Leone.<sup>1</sup> This second theory has linguistic support in the fact that the Limba, neighbours of the Loko, refer to them as 'Bandi', and that Loko is linguistically, especially in its morphology, even closer to Bandi and Loma, both spoken in Liberia, than to Mende.<sup>2</sup> The Loko, according to Hirst, have been in the area they now occupy probably for some centuries. If, as Rodney suggests,<sup>3</sup> they were part of the Mane invasion of Sierra Leone during the sixteenth century, then they had arrived in this area over a century before the Mende were fully settled in their own present location. If both Mende and Loko were closely related members of the 'Manes', as would appear to be the case on linguistic grounds, then they may be presumed to have split up during the Mane invasion to settle in different areas, developing separate cultural institutions. The Loko do not operate either the Wunde or the Poro, the two 'secret' societies which are central to Mende culture and society.<sup>4</sup>

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1. E. Hirst, 'A reconstruction of the history of the Loko', Sierra Leone Studies, N.S.9, p.29.

2 G. Innes, 'An outline grammar of Loko with texts', African Language Studies, V, 1964, pp.115-173.

3. W. Rodney, A History of the Upper Guinea Coast 1545-1800, Oxford, 1970, p.59.

4.K. Little, The Mende of Sierra Leone, London, 1951.

The Kofo, on the other hand, which is the dominant male society among the Loko, is not similar to any institution among the Mende. The Loko do operate the Bundu, the female 'secret' society which is widespread among most ethnic groups in Sierra Leone, although a comparison of the organisation and vocabulary of this society with those of its Temne counterpart<sup>#</sup> suggests that the Loko form of Bundu has been borrowed from the Temne, who had in turn borrowed<sup>it</sup> from the Mende.<sup>1</sup>

5.11<sup>2</sup> There is no record to show when the Temne and the Mende first came into contact. The two major groups involved in the Mane invasions and wars of the sixteenth century, the 'Manes' and their opponents the 'Sapes', are thought to have included the Mende and the Temne respectively.<sup>2</sup> But the detailed identities of these so-called 'Mane' and 'Sape' groups, in spite of the efforts of Kup, Rodney, and Hair,<sup>3</sup> still remain confused. It is therefore difficult to establish this period of early European documentation as a certain period of contact between the Mende and the Temne. The Mende (or 'Kosso') were, ~~as a distinct group~~ <sup>unknown</sup> apparently, to Europeans as a separate ethno-linguistic group until the late eighteenth century, nearly 150 years after the Mane invasion. One must not assume, however, that

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1. Loko Bundu songs recorded by the writer in 1968 in Gben-dembu were all in Temne, interspersed <sup>with</sup> ~~by~~ a few Loko phrases.

2. Rodney, op.cit., also, 'A reconsideration of the Mane invasions of Sierra Leone', Journal of African History, VII, 2, pp. 219-246.

A.P. Kup, A History of Sierra Leone, 1400-1787, London, 1961.

3. P.E.H. Hair, 'Ethnolinguistic continuity on the Guinea Coast', Journal of African History, VIII, 2, (1967) pp. 247-268.

contact between the Mende and Temne only began with the appearance of the Mende in the eighteenth century in the Bumpe and Ribbi area, since that area was surrounded by the Banta and Koya, two Temne sub-groups. Migration and settlement across boundaries may have taken place <sup>much earlier</sup>, but unfortunately the scanty historical data available do not take account of these peaceful contacts and are ~~restricted~~ restricted largely to wars<sup>2</sup>. But even where these wars occurred, they were not always fought on tribal lines and were often conducted on <sup>2</sup> basis disregarding 'tribal' affiliation<sup>1</sup>.

In 1807 the Colony signed a peace treaty with the Temne chiefs of Koya, and subsequently a large number of 'Kossoh', i.e. Mende Liberated Africans from Freetown who wished to obtain farm-land nearer their original homes in Mendeland, settled in Koya. Contacts between the Temne and the Mende increased after 1898, when Britain declared a Protectorate over the rest of present-day Sierra Leone, with Bo in Mendeland as the capital. This made Bo an important

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1. An example of this is seen in the case of Gbanka who on one occasion led the Yoni Temne against the Kpa Mende of Taiama. Later he and his war-boys, together with his brother Raka, fought alongside the Mende, looting several Temne towns and Bullom villages. Some of these 'wars' were also between different factions of the same ethnic group, like the Koya Temne against the Yoni Temne. See Ijagbemi, op.cit. p.251, 271 as well as p. 239 for an account of the attack on Foredugu in 1881.

centre for trade and administration and people from various parts of the country went there ~~there~~ to seek employment. The opening of the Bo School in 1906 (the only Secondary school in the provinces for nearly 50 years) enabled boys from Temneland to go to Bo for their education, where they also learnt to speak Mende. But despite this history of more recent contact between the Mende and the Temne, the influence of the Mende language on Temne has remained largely restricted to one area of culture, namely that of the Bundu society.

5.12 The majority of words borrowed from Mende into Temne are 'secret' society terms, particularly concerning the women's society, Bundu, and the Poro society, over half the total of Mende loanwords noted ~~as~~ falling under this category. Even where such words are not society terms in Mende, they have been borrowed into Temne to describe the particular characteristics or duties of individual members of the Bundu or Poro<sup>1</sup>, e.g.,

Me. mambó, Black, Velvet	à-mambó Dark-skinned Poro member.
Me. lùgó Leader	à-rùkó Girl leader in Bundu.

5.121 From the large number of Mende-derived words relating to Bundu, (over twenty four of the total<sup>of</sup> sixty), it is apparent that this society has been acquired by the Temne from the Mende. Even though the Bundu is a widespread institution in Sierra Leone and in the adjacent areas of

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1. This is not restricted to Mende words; cf. k-òrénthà 9.45.

~~Antóni, 1971~~. See also A.K. Turay, 'Naming and place-names among the Temne', (unpublished paper), to appear in African Language Review



Liberia and Guinea, the <sup>vocabulary</sup> ~~words~~ used by the Temne in reference to this society <sup>has</sup> ~~been~~ borrowed directly from Mende. The ceremonial songs of the Bundu in Temne also often contain Mende words and phrases<sup>1</sup>. The wide occurrence of these phrases explains why such songs are largely unintelligible to uninitiated speakers of Temne to whom the Mende words and phrases appear merely as 'nonsense' elements.

5.122 Some words borrowed from Mende relate both to the Bundu and Poro, e.g.

Me. sówó High official of Bundu or Poro	Te. ù-sókó 1. Member of Poro, 2. Member of Radigba.
Me. màbémbé Go around town on someone's behalf.	Te. =bémbé Go around town in funeral procession for 1) member of Poro 2) member of Bundu.
Me. gbònú Poro 'devil'	Te. à-gbònú 1. Poro official 2. Radigba official.
Me. pàlí Inner part of Poro 'bush'.	Te. à-pàlí Grave for Poro or Bundu official.

The close connection between the two societies is not restricted to Mende-derived terminology but extends also to the actual practice of their ceremonial rites. Thus

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1. The following song, sung by Bundu initiants as they leave town every morning to go to the 'bush' kè-yàrmà, (see 5.4171), serves as an example.

<u>a muriye a muriye</u>	< Me. <u>wá múlí</u> =Let us go, let us go,
<u>səkalana ro yarma</u>	We are returning to the 'bush',
<u>aye bomsoko</u>	Yes, Bundu leader.

~~This song has been known to the writer for many years~~

at one stage of the Bundu initiation ceremony, members of the Poro assist members of the Radigba in carrying out their duties. Conversely, as Bundu officials, é-dìgbà, i.e. members of the Radigba, have to be present before the Poro officials can perform certain rites. This connection between the two societies is further strengthened by the tradition that Poro was originally a women's society, taken over by men.<sup>1</sup> Even today, whenever the Poro 'devil' comes into town, the women block the men's way, threatening to recapture their 'devil'. Different writers have suggested various etymologies for the word Poro itself. Harley<sup>2</sup> suggests it is derived from a South-western Mende item meaning 'root', Schwab's<sup>3</sup> gloss for it is 'one word' or 'unity', and Little<sup>4</sup> indicates that the word for Poro in Mende 'poe' means literally 'no end' or 'far behind'. Though there is no clear indication as to what the ultimate origin of the word Poro is, the traditional association of women with the society must be borne in mind. Apart from the

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1. Oral tradition recorded by A.K. Turay at Matotoka (Pa Yamba Kore) and at Tikonko (Jibao Luseni) during field work for this thesis carried out in Sierra Leone in 1966-1969.
  2. G.W. Harley, Notes on the Poro in Liberia, Cambridge, Mass. 1941.
  3. G. Schwab, Tribes of the Liberian Hinterland, Cambridge, Mass., 1947.
  4. K. Little, The Mende of Sierra Leone, London, 1951.

examples already cited, a word such as à-mábòrè, Female member of the Poro (ex. Me. mábòlè ) suggests either a common origin or a convergence of organisation between the Bundu and Poro. Since both societies seem to play complementary roles to each other, it is probable that the introduction of one of these societies necessitated the simultaneous introduction of the other. In other words, not only the Bundu, but also the Poro, is likely to have been introduced to the Temne by the Mende.

5.123 As in the case of Bundu, there is linguistic support for the suggestion that the Poro was introduced to the Temne by the Mende, even though there has been considerable convergence in <sup>the</sup> organisation of the Temne Poro as a result of influences both from Mende and Bullom <sup>forms of Poro.</sup> ~~elements~~. The Temne word for the society, à-pórs, corresponds tonally to the Mende póó, Poro society. The Bullom péè, on the other hand does not correspond to the Temne form. It is therefore more than likely that the Temne term à-pórs is derived from Mende than from Bullom. The borrowing of such terms as,

à-gbàniká (ex. Me. Kpandoinga) Poro 'bush',  
ù-sókó (ex. Me. sowo) Poro member,  
à-làwúndè (ex. Me. laawunde) Junior Poro official,

all suggest the Mende influence in the introduction of Poro to the Temne.

5.124 The influence of Radigba in Temne speaking areas in Sierra Leone is in direct proportion to that of the Poro. In Tonkolili and parts of Bombali Districts where there is strong Poro influence, the organisation of

Radigba and the Bundu is extremely elaborate. Chiefdoms with Poro-controlled chieftaincies have a female sub-chief called Bomdigba ( Te.-bòm, Senior + digbà Bundu official), who is one of the wives of the chief, and is responsible for the organisation of Bundu and Radigba initiations.<sup>1</sup> In the Northern Port Loko and Kambia Districts where there is no Poro, the Bundu and Radigba do exist but with less elaborate ceremonial than in other parts. There is no Bomdigba in these areas and most people send their children to the Susu form of Bundu, à-bòndò à-sòsò, otherwise known as à-súnà, (see 3. 4112) . Both the Poro and Radigba have spread among the Temne at the expense of two indigenous societies, Ragbenle and Ramena<sup>2</sup>. Even today, the hostility between the two 'foreign' societies on the one hand, i.e. Poro and Radigba/<sup>Bundu</sup> and the two indigenous societies on the other, i.e. Ragbenle and Ramena, is still widespread. While

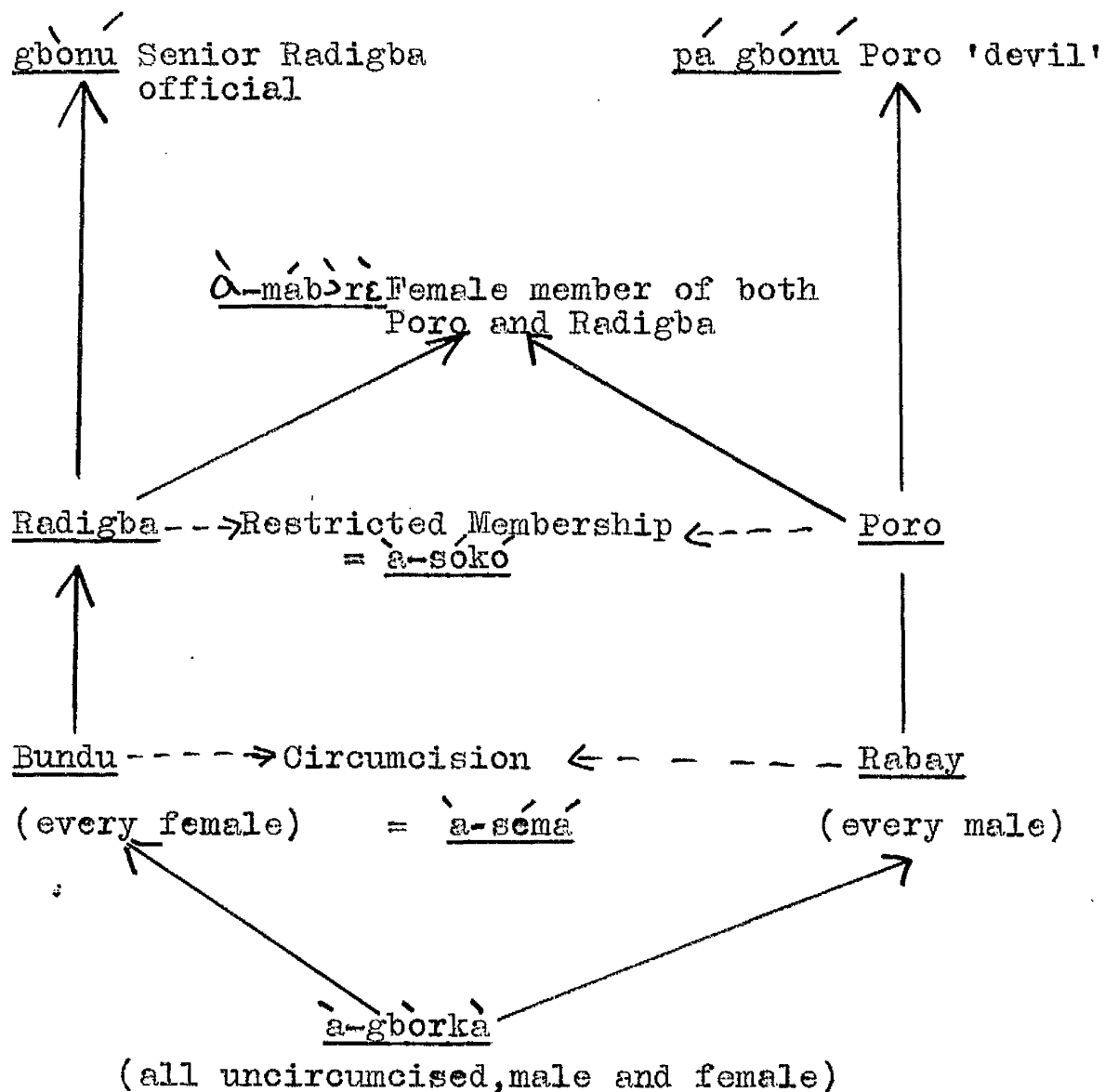
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1. For a discussion of the relationship between the Ragbenle secret society and chieftaincy among the Temne, see V.R. Dorjhan, 'The organisation and functions of the Ragbenle society of the Temne', Africa, XXIX, 2, 1959, pp. 156-70, also 'The changing political system of the Temne', Africa, XXX, 2, 1960, pp. 110-40, and A.K. Turay, 'Offices in Temne chiefship', Unpublished paper.

2. Dorjhan, op.cit.

members of the Radigba will cooperate with the Poro officials and assist in their ceremonies, they will have nothing to do with Ramena. Poro and Ragbenle chiefs still avoid eating from the same dish and a Poro member takes an oath by saying he would rather eat k -lok<sup>1</sup>, Food eaten by members of the Ragbenle, than fail to carry out his word. The influence of the Poro and Radigba/Bundu is now considerable and they <sup>are</sup> today <sup>the</sup> predominant 'secret' societies among the Temne. The following diagram illustrates the inter-relationship between the Poro and the Radigba/Bundu:

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1. D. Dalby and A. Kamara, 'A vocabulary of Temne Ragbenle society', op. cit. The antagonism between the Ragbenle and Poro was one of the reasons for the failure of <sup>the</sup> British policy of chiefdom amalgamation in Sierra Leone. An amalgamation between a Poro and Ragbenle chiefdoms scarcely ever succeeded, since the chief, if he was Poro, would not be recognised by the Ragbenle section and vice-versa.



One is not considered a mature and responsible member of the society until circumcision, a stage through which every boy and girl has to pass. Boys and girls who have been initiated into the Rabay and Bundu respectively are referred to as a-séma. The Radigba and Poro, however,

include only certain women and certain men respectively, known as à-sókó, membership often resulting from selective conscription. à-mábòrè, a senior Bundu official, is also the only female member of the Poro, acting as a matron for the young initiants into the Poro. pá gbónú, the Poro devil is never seen by non-members. A detailed discussion of the various functions of these officials may be found under 5.412.

## 5.2 Phonology of Mende<sup>1</sup>

### 5.21 Consonants

	BI-LABIAL		LABIO-DENTAL		ALVEOLAR		PALATAL	VELAR	LABIO-VELAR		GLOTTAL
Plosives	p	b			t	d		k	g	kp	gb
Affricates							j				
Nasal compounds	mb				nd		nj	ng			
Nasals	m				n			ŋ			
Fricatives			f	v	s						h
Lateral					l						
semi-vowel	w						y				



## 5.22 Vowels

i                      u  
e                      o  
ɛ                      ɔ  
a

~~THE VOWELS ARE AS FOLLOWS.~~

### Tone

5.23/ Mende employs lexical tone and the tone pattern of Mende words will be marked as below, employing the same syllabic tone-marks as for Temne;

High

Low

Falling

Rising.

## 5.24 Phonological correspondences between Mende and Temne (in loanwords from Mende to Temne).

For the majority of phonemes, the correspondences between Mende-derived items in Temne and their Mende source-items are non-differential, i.e., the same phonemes occur in both the Temne and Mende forms of the word. For such non-differential correspondences only one example is quoted.

### 5.241 Consonants (non-differential)

In the examples quoted, the Mende form is cited first.

p:p

jòpòwáhùn Garden,    ʼá -yòpòwà Market  
Market.

b:b

bòndò Secret, Bundu    ʼá -bòndò Bundu society  
bush.

t:t

tóké Cautiously            -tóké Cautiously

d:d  
 dèmiá Brother in law      ù-dèmiyá Brother in law, younger  
    brother of a girl friend

k:k  
 jèké Cowry (generic      kè-yèké Cowry used by members of  
    term)     Radigba

gb:gb  
 jàgbàwà Large metal      à-yàgbàwà (as for Mende)  
    basin

f:f  
 kpàfá Hunter's bag      à-gbànfá (as for Mende)

s:s  
 sàngbá Conical drum      à-sàngbá (as for Mende)

m:m  
 màpílá Mythical giant      à-màmpílá Ghost

n:n  
 náfàlé Masked dancer      à-náfàlé (as for Mende)

y:y  
 yògbá Whip (generic      kè-yògbá Whip used in the Bundu  
    term)

#### 5.242 Consonants (differential)

The differential consonantal correspondences involve those phonemes in Mende which do not occur in the Temne primary<sup>or secondary</sup> systems. Three examples are cited, wherever possible, to illustrate the regularity of such correspondences.

g:k  
 lùgó Leader (generic      à-rùkó Leading<sup>ec</sup> in Bundu procession  
    term)

gìndê Shake, jump around      =kìndê Dance of the Bundu officials  
 kpángúimá Bundu bush      à-gbánkúmá (as for Mende)

kp:gb	
kpàfá Hunter's bag	à-gbànfá (as for Mende)
kpógbó Hammer	rə-gbógbó Hammer
kpángúimá Bundu bush	à-gbánkúma Bundu bush
j:y	
jàgbàwà Large metal basin	à-yàgbàwà (as for Mende)
jèké Cowry (generic term)	kə-yèké Cowry used by members of the Radigba
jòpòwáhùn Market	à-yòpòwâ Market

Following /o/, Mende medial /w/ corresponds to Temne /k/. Medial /w/ occurs <sup>only</sup> as a secondary phonological feature in Temne.

w:k	
mbówá Knife	à-bóká Cutlass
sówó Member of Poro or Radigba	ù-sókó Member of Poro or Radigba

### 5.243 Nasal compounds

The Mende nasal compounds /mb/ and /nd/ correspond to Temne /b/ and /d/ respectively, in initial position, and to /mb/ and /nd/, respectively, in medial position. The nasal compound /ng/ is borrowed, in medial position only, as /nk/.

#### Initial

mb:b	
mbówá Knife	à-bóká Cutlass
nd:d	
ndámhá Crocodile,	à-dámhá Stocks
stocks	
<del>ndámhá</del>	

~~ndámhá~~

## Medial

mb:mb	
ndámá Crocodile, stocks	`a-dámá Stocks
nd:nd	
kándé Trick	=kándé Trick(esp.pretence of being member of Bundu)
ng:nk	
kpángúimá Bundu bush	`a-gbánkúimá (as for Mende)

## 5.244 Vowels

The vocalic correspondences, except those involving Mende /a/ are all non-differential.

i:i	
pálí Deep part of river, inner part of Poro bush	`a-pálí Grave of Poro member
e:e	
jèké Cowry(generic term)	kà-yèké Cowry used by members of the Radigba
ɛ:ɛ	
sèkí Blacksmith specialising in making guns and other implements	`u-sèkí Official name for blacksmith in Poro
ɔ:ɔ	
jòpòwáhùn Market	`a-yòpòwâ Market
o:o	
mbówá Knife	`a-bóká Cutlass
u:u	
lùgó Leader	`a-rùkó Girl leader in Bundu
a:a	
lágà Wunde official	`a-rákà Poro official

Mende /a/, when borrowed into Temne, results<sup>in</sup> either /a/ or /a/.

a:ɑ

náfalé Masked dancer      ǎ-náfalé  
 pǎlí Deep part of river      ǎ-pǎlí Grave for Poro member  
 mǎpílá Mythical giant      ǎ-mǎmpílá Ghost

No regular rule has been established as to when the corresponding phoneme is /a/ or /ɑ/; the only regular feature being the non-occurrence of /ɑ/ in final position in Mende-derived items (where final /ɑ/ in Temne is normally an extension suffix, 1.36).

5.25 The majority of loanwords borrowed from Mende into Temne retain their original Mende tone pattern in Temne, the exceptions being

- 1) polysyllabic items that have one or more syllables elided in Temne e.g. Me. jǎpǎwáhún Te. ǎ-yǎpǎwǎ (where Mende high-low corresponds to Temne fall),

- 2) where an initial rising tone is borrowed as a high tone e.g.

Me. bǎngǎ      Te. ǎ-bǎnkǎ Fellow member of Bundu

Me. bǎfímǎ      Te. ǎ-bǎfímǎ 'Medicine' made out of human fat

5.26 The majority of nouns borrowed from Mende fall under the A/E class pair, this being the class pair under which the greatest number of nominals fall in Temne. Even though many of the words borrowed refer to officials of the Bundu and Poro societies, these words do not fall under the human class pair O<sup>1</sup>/A, only two items ǎ-sókó, Member of Poro or Radigba, and ǎ-yèrí, Interpreter for the Poro devil falling under this class pair. General titles<sup>1</sup>

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1. cf. ǎ-santhǎki and ǎ-lǎmámí, 3.451 as well as ǎ-bǎy

fall under the A<sup>1</sup>/E class pair. Only è-yómbó and pə-yàká are the only two nominals that fall under the secondary class pairs, ø/E and ø/p respectively, the rest of the Mende-derived nominals being assimilated into the Temne primary singular/plural class pair system.

5.27 Only five verbal stems are Mende-derived in Temne; of these, sól, Sing praises of senior Bundu members, is the only one that takes an extension suffix, the instrumental ~â (see 1.36)

### 5.3 Semantic change

Mende-derived words in Temne relating to artefacts and items of food and drink have not undergone any significant semantic changes. Many words for society terminology however, have become narrowed in meaning when borrowed into Temne, the main reason for this being the fact that several of these terms, though having a general application in Mende, are in Temne restricted to the context of particular rites and ceremonies connected with either the Bundu or the Poro society, e.g.

Me. Jèké Cowry (generic term) > Te. kə-yèké Cowry  
used by Radigba

Me. yògbá Whip (generic term) > Te. kə-yògbá, Whip  
used to beat Bundu  
initiants.

The use of the Mende-derived 'society' terms in Temne is restricted by their context and they occur only infrequently in everyday speech. Many of them are meant to be known to and used by members only, hence their advantage as 'foreign' words. Also, because these terms are specifically society terms, they are not being replaced by recent borrowings from English, as is the case with many Portuguese, Manding, or even older English-derived words.

## 5.41 Semantic Categories

### 5.41 Societies

#### 5.411 Titles of Societies

##### MENDE

bòndò Secrets, Private affairs,

Secret place, Bundu bush

ligbà Society for senior

Bundu officials

póó Poro, men's secret society

##### TEMNE

`à-bòndò Bundu society,<sup>1</sup> female

circumcision society

rà -dìgbà Women's society for

Bundu officials

`à-póró Poro society

Rodney<sup>2</sup> refers to a female secret society among the 'Sapes', described by Fernandes<sup>3</sup> as existing in Sierra Leone in the early sixteenth century, i.e. before the 'Mane' invasion. Rodney asserts that in almost every detail the description fits with the Sande and Bundu female secret societies as they survive among the Mende and numerous other Sierra Leone peoples in the twentieth century. If this were so, it would invalidate the hypothesis that Bundu was introduced to the Temne by the Mende but in fact the society described by Fernandes is not Bundu. Rodney overlooks the important detail of the girls being under the guardianship of an old man, and the fact that the initiates were called mendas. This description corresponds to that of the Temne present-day Ramena society, in which the initiates, called `à-mínà are under the guardianship of an old man: Ramena is an indigenous Temne society unrelated to Bundu, see 5.124.

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1. The Mende themselves refer to the Bundu as Sande, a term that has not been borrowed into Temne.

2. Rodney, op.cit. p.65

3. J. Monod, da Mota, R. Mauny, ed; Description de la cote occidentale d'Afrique, par Valetim Fernandes, 1506-10, Bissau, 1951

## 5.412 Members

### MENDE

bǎngà Friendly term of  
address among girls  
still undergoing the  
rites of Bundu  
initiation

sówó High official in Poro  
or Bundu

lìgbà Senior Bundu official  
làa wúndè Official of the  
Wunde (Mende male  
secret society)

mábò lè Female member of the  
Poro

mámbo Black, velvet

gbònú Poro 'devil'

lùgó Leader

sámá Person of high social  
standing, aristocrat

sèkí Blacksmith specialising  
in making guns and other  
implements

### TEMNE

ù-bónkà Girl still going  
through Bundu rites

ù-sókó Member of Poro; also  
suffixed to the names  
of members of Radigba

à-rìgbà Member of Radigba  
à-làwúndè Official in  
Poro acting as  
ambassador between the  
Poro and the Wunde

à-mábòrè Senior official of  
the Radigba who is  
also a member of the  
Poro

à-mámbo Poro member who is  
dark-skinned

à-gbònú 1. Poro 'devil'  
2. Senio Radigba  
official

à-rùkó First girl initiant  
in the Bundu

à-sámá Girl 'prefect' among  
Bundu initiants

ù-sèkí Member of secret  
society who keeps  
society weapons and  
and implements

*jàl/lom Poro member who interpreters*

*lèwù wùwù Poro devil wùwù*



MENDE

jéilòm Person who interpretes  
for the Poro 'devil'  
when he comes to town  
at night (jèí Story +  
mò ,Person)

TEMNE

ù-yèrí (as for Mende)

Change of name and status<sup>1</sup> is a significant characteristic for those initiated into the Poro or Radigba. Boys undergoing initiation in Rabay are referred to as à-bèthî, Poro initiants are called à-bànkàlò, while Radigba initiants are known as tà-wòthó (Te. Baboon).<sup>2</sup> One who has completed the initiation rites in the Poro becomes ù-sókó, and in Radigba becomes à-rigbà.

The làà wúndé in the Mende Wunde and à-làwúndé of the Temne Poro are the official messengers and co-ordinating officers between their two societies (à-mábòrè serves a similar function for the Temne Poro and Radigba). Although Wunde does not exist among the Temne, this Mende society is reputed to have close ties with the Temne Poro and the existence of à-làwúndé in the Temne Poro seems to confirm this.<sup>3</sup> The highly successful organisation of the

- 
1. One is thought to be a 'new' person after initiation. The ceremony of bringing the girls home after Bundu initiation is referred to as =kùs (lit. Pour s.t. out of a bowl after being washed), the Poro equivalent being =tày, (lit. put s.t. out in the sun to dry after being washed).
  2. The baboon and leopard (Te. ù-síp) are symbols of power among the Temne, with the baboon considered the less powerful. One may tell the relative position of power held in the society by à-rigbà according to whether she

Hut Tax War and the Mende Uprising of 1898 in the North and South of Sierra Leone respectively may well have been due to cooperation between the two societies.

à-gbònú further illustrates the close contacts between the two societies. The Poro 'devil', gbònú is never seen by non-members, only its high pitched voice being heard; the identity of gbònú, the Poro 'devil', and gbònú, the Radigba official, may be more than linguistic however, the female official probably also performing the duties of the Poro 'devil'. Like gbònú, à-mábèrè is also a Radigba official as well as a member of the Poro, acting as a female warden for the novices undergoing initiation. The identity of this female official is known only to members of the Radigba and Poro.<sup>1</sup>

lùgí and sámá may be used as proper names by the girls after the Bundu initiation, though a change of name in the

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carries one or more baboon's or leopard's teeth round the wrist, the combination and number of such teeth further helping rank.

1. The unknown identity of this female official to non-members is one of the reasons why non-members refrain particularly from discussing the Poro with women as one cannot be sure whether one is speaking to à-mábèrè or not. This fear of secret spies is also a major factor for the Poro having <sup>remained</sup> ~~remained~~ powerful forms so long.

Bundu is not, unlike the Poro <sup>and</sup> ~~now~~ Radigba, compulsory. All the other titles discussed in this section may also be used as proper names, except ù-sèkí and ù-yèrí which are not permanent titles, the person performing their duties changing from time to time.<sup>1</sup> The Poro 'devil' speaks in a language that is unintelligible to non-members, ù-yèrí being the interpreter between the 'devil' and the audience.<sup>2</sup>

#### 5.413 'Devils', Masqueraders, and Dancers

MENDE	TEMNE
n'wò Bundu 'devil', masked dancer	à-náwò Bundu masked dancer
gòbóí Male secret society's masked dancer	à-kòbóy Mende masked dancer
náfàlé Junior partner <sup>3</sup> of gòbóí	à-náfàlé (as for Mende)
yámamá Masquerader who dances <del>dancer</del> on a tightrope and on top of a pole	à-yámamá (as for Mende)

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1. cf. 5.26 as well as à-santhèki, à-làmámì 3.451.

Titles, as opposed to occupations, fall under the A/E class with O<sup>1</sup>/A<sup>2</sup> concord.

2. cf. ù-tókú, 8.412

3. Many 'society' devils and dancers have a junior partner who functions as a comedian, usually preceding the senior 'devil' or dancer and giving warning of their arrival e.g.

kè-bémhá (M. bembá) : Te. kè-tómlá in Rabay  
 à-kòbóy (Me. gòbóí) : à-náfàlé in Goboi society  
 à-kégbàná : à-fisâ Te. Poro  
 à-yékú (OKU jegun) : à-wókósiyà ~~ojeh~~ (see 8.413)  
 à-né'ké : à-nèkè-thómbó Temne Ragbenle.

À-náwò is the only female masked dancer among the Temne, her functions being similar to those of kà-bém̃bá, Male circumcision society ancestor 'spirit' mask, in the Rabay society. These functions include acting as guardian spirit while the initiants are in the sacred bush. The other three discussed in this section are not connected with any special secret society among the Temne, performing mainly for money and general entertainment. They all wear a total covering of robes however to conceal their identity.

#### 5.414 Society Dances and Songs

MENDE	TEMNE
máyùgbá Bundu dance at funeral	À-máyògbá (as for Mende)
mabém̃bé Go round town on behalf of someone	*bém̃bé Go round town, singing dirges, of Bundu and Poro members at funeral ceremony
soéngá Collective name for members of Bundu society	À-sórénkà Dance by members of the Bundu immediately after new initiants have been taken into the 'bush'
gìndê Jump from place to place, skip, tremble	=kìndê Dance of the senior Bundu official
sòlé Make a noise, sing loudly	=sól Sing loudly in praise of senior Bundu officials (of Bundu initiants)
túmá Reply, answer	=túmá Reply in song to greetings of other Bundu initiants

The term =bémbé emphasises the similarity in organisation between the Poro and Bundu, the funeral processions of both societies being referred to by this term. Even though the à-rákà, the official messenger of the Poro, is not as expert a dancer as à-sámpà, Bundu dancer, their dances are very similar, involving jumping and skipping. Only the dance of the à-sámpà however is referred to as =kìndê, there being no special word for the dance of the à-rákà.<sup>1</sup>

The Bundu funeral ceremony of =bémbé may be witnessed by non-members while that of the Poro is secret, but in both cases, the dirges are sacred, sung by members only during the actual performance of the ceremony, it being a crime (k-àsí, see 3.42.2), to sing such songs at any other time.

=sól involves praising of members only, all other singing in the society being referred to by the indigenous generic term, =lèŋ, Sing.

- 
1. à-rákà and à-sámpà perform similar functions in the Poro and Bundu respectively. As official heralds of their societies their duties include going round chanting before a performance by their societies. Their attire is also strikingly similar, both carrying a sword in their right hand, and a bunch of leaves in their left, with their eyes and mouths marked round with white clay and with similar designs marked on their bodies also with clay.

## 5.415 Vows and Initiation

### MENDE

kèlè Vow, promise  
njómbó Food eaten by novices  
at the end of initiation  
into the Poro or Bundu

### TEMNE

k-èrè Vow, promise, oath  
è-yómbó Mixed food given to  
initiants of Bundu as  
an oath not to divulge  
the society's secrets

k-èrè is restricted to vows made to a court, a chief, one's parents or a secret society, promising to refrain from doing something; it involves only giving one's word of honour without recourse to the use of 'medicine bags'. è-yómbó is the equivalent of á-mókó (~~see~~ *see*) among members of a male secret society. The result of breaking one's á-kèrè may be imprisonment, but divulging the secrets of a society may result in 'disappearance' (i.e. death) in the case of the Poro, or a swollen stomach and subsequent death in the case of the Bundu.<sup>1</sup>

- 
1. The indigenous word =séjáné is used for oaths involving a medicine bag', à-sásá believed to cause the death of, anyone failing to carry out the oath. Many people now swear oaths on the Bible or Koran, it being considered 'pagan' to use à-sásá. In the courts of Sierra Leone however, judges and magistrates give witnesses the choice of taking the oath on the Bible, the Koran, or à-sásá.

## 5.416 Society Behaviour

### MENDE

tóké Cautiously, slyly, quietly

kándé Trick

### TEMNE

tóké (adv.) Slowly and  
esp. of the walk of  
Bundu girls who have  
just completed the  
initiation rites  
=kándé Play a confidence  
trick on s.o., pretend  
to be member of the  
Bundu and tricking the  
members into believing  
this

Girls who have successfully undergone the Bundu initiation are expected to walk in a manner commensurate with their new status, slowly and majestically, the song sung as they walk out ~~out~~ of the 'bush' into town instructing them to do this.<sup>1</sup>

Women who are caught posing as members (=kándé) are automatically initiated after having been shamed by being taken round the village and being jeered at by the onlookers. Such women feel so disgraced that they usually leave the town after the initiation and settle somewhere else.

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1. o ya manɛ

o yayo na ma na ma aɲ sema

toke ɔ ya toke

na ma na ma aɲ sema

Oh suffering [initiated  
lady, walk the walk of the ^  
Softly, lady, softly  
Walk the walk of the initiate<sup>d</sup>

5.417 Meeting and Burial Places

5.4171

MENDE

TEMNE

kpàndòíngá Poro bush where à-gbàniká (as for Mende)  
meetings and initiation  
take place

jààmà Bundu enclosure in kè-yàrmà (as for Mende)  
bush

kpángúimá Bundu enclosure à-gbánkúamá (as for Mende)  
in town

kòndómà Hut in the Bundu à-kòndómà (as for Mende)  
enclosure where older  
women who take care of  
the novices live during  
the period of initiation

à-gbàniká is the only word in this section that refers to the Poro, the other term for a Poro meeting place à-fàré being derived from Bullom (see 6.24). Both à-gbánkúamá and à-kòndómà are collectively referred to as à-kánthá (Te. =kánthá Shut), a term that may also refer to the place of enclosure where a Paramount chief spends his period of tutoring before his ceremonial installation<sup>1</sup>.

5.4172

MENDE

TEMNE

pàlí Deep part of a river,  
inner part of Poro bush

à-pàlí Grave of Poro or  
Radigba member

póó Poro, meeting place

ró-póró Burial place of chiefs

- 
1. A.B.Ture, 'Notes on customs and ceremonies attending the selection and crowning of a Bombali Chief' Sierra Leone Studies, XXII, Sept. 1939, p.95.



The indigenous kè-bómâ is the generic term for a grave. Although non-members cannot see the grave of a Poro member since this is in the Poro bush, the burial of a member of Radigba is not secret and her à-pàlì is usually in the town graveyard.

In the Poro controlled chiefdoms, ró-póró is usually in a forest with a stream nearby, this being <sup>where</sup> Bompoto, a female sub-chief in these chiefdoms, goes to perform rites to the dead chiefs.<sup>1</sup> The burial place for the Ragbenle is known as à-lànk, an indigenous term, while chiefs in Muslim chiefdoms are buried in the à-sélkéndé,<sup>3</sup>.

#### 5.418 Regalia

MENDE	TEMNE
yògbá Whip (generic term)	kè-yògbá Whip used by Bundu officials to flog young initiants
jèké Cowry (generic term)	kè-yèké Cowry used by member of the Radigba
yùmbùyámbá Sierra Leone peach	à-yòmbàyámbá Leaves of the Sierra Leone peach carried by members of the Bundu at the start of a Bundu initiation ceremony

It is considered a social offence to refer to these three items of regalia by their indigenous generic terms ( kè-séthé, Whip, kè-fánt, Cowry, à-bópér , Leaf), it being also an offence to refer to a whip or cowry not used as part

of the Bundu regalia as kà-yògbá or kà-yèké respectively.

→ kà-yèké is, like the baboon's and leopard's teeth, a symbol of membership in the Radigba, every member starting with one tied round her wrist, the number increasing as she progresses in the society until the cowries are eventually replaced by baboons teeth (see p. 173, f.n. 2).

à-yòmboyámbá are medicinal, used in healing the wound of clitoridectomy. The fact that this plant is used medicinally is supported by its also being referred to as à-bumà, the term used for leaves used by secret societies and for medicinal purposes. Before girls are initiated into the Bundu, the officials who are to perform the operation are given authority to do this by the rest of the older women who are already members of the Bundu; this is done by these women members going to the most senior à-rìgbà, carrying à-yòmboyámbá leaves singing the following song;

ée saṅ sà beko

Here we come

ya o ye sema e

Members of the Bundu

saṅ sà kàrà aṅ-buma o

We have brought the medicinal leaf

o yomboyamba eee

The 'yomboyamba'

saṅ sà kàrà aṅ-buma o

We have brought the leaf

o yomboyamba e e

The 'yomboyamba'

This ceremony gives the necessary authority without which the members of the Radigba, who perform the initiation rites, cannot proceed.

## 5. 42 Dress

Mende women, having had such an influence among the Temne because of the Bundu, have very little influence on Temne women in their mode of dress, only one word having been borrowed under this category. Even the dress worn by the Bundu girls, on coming out of the bush, is referred to by a Krio-derived item, à-pètíkôt, (see 7.4:022). It may be <sup>that</sup> there was an item derived from Mende for this ceremonial dress which has subsequently been replaced by the Krio-derived form. This seems unlikely however, since Krio words of ultimate English origin, despite replacing several older words in the Temne lexicon, have had practically no effect on cultural terminology.

### MENDE

### TEMNE

jámbo' Women's dress reaching  
the ankles

à-yámbo' (as for Mende)

## 5.43 Food and Drink

### MENDE

### TEMNE

kóndógbálá Dried cassava chips è-kóndógbálá (as for Mende)

màyúgbè Cassava sp.

è-màyúgbè (as for Mende)

yàká Swamp rice

pè-yàká (as for Mende)

jámhá Indian hemp

kè-yámhá (as for Mende)

Next to rice, cassava is the most common food both among the Mende and the Temne, the generic term for cassava in Temne being itself a loanword from Portuguese, à-yókâ, 9.49 . The dried cassava chips, è-kóndógbálá, are eaten mostly by travellers; they keep very well and can <sup>be</sup> stored for long

periods without going bad.

The indigenous term for Indian hemp kə-thây is only rarely used, since smokers of hemp usually refer to it by using the loanword as a euphemism.<sup>1</sup>

#### 5.44 Social Relationships

MENDE	TEMNE
póé Adultery, fornication	à -púré Lover, mistress
dèmiá Brother in law	ù-dèmiyá The younger brother one's girl friend or lover

à -púré, involving adultery or unfaithfulness, contrasts with the indigenous term kə-màni, Boy-friend or girl-friend, a relationship which does not necessarily involve adultery. For a married woman to have à -púré is an offence for which a husband may sue his wife's lover.<sup>2</sup> Unmarried friends of opposite sex are always referred to as kə-màni, regardless of whether there is any sexual relationship or not.

ù-dèmiyá may have been borrowed to help conceal a special relationship. Whereas a married man refers to his wife's brother by the indigenous term ù-kòmanê, Brother in law, a lover refers to his mistress' younger brother by the loanword ù-dèmiyá. Such a younger brother is often the go-between for the lovers and plays an important rôle in keeping the relationship a secret.

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1. Drinkers of palm wine also prefer to refer to palm wine, not by the indigenous name mə-bèr, but by the Limba-derived loanword, mə-màmpàmə, see 6.133.
  2. This offence, kə-bál, ~~Adultery~~. Adultery, is referred to in Sierra Leone English as 'woman palaver', and the damages offered to the husband, (Te. =wáy kə-bál, lit. Pay for adultery) as 'paying woman damages'.

## 5.45 Superstition, Magic and Divination

MENDE	TEMNE
pó' Poro society and its fetish	à -pór's Tuft of grass tied to the top of a pole and stuck in a farm by the Poro; the presence of this symbol forbids harvesting of the crops until <sup>it</sup> is removed
tòtògbé Fortell the future (tòtò Foretell +gbé Allow)	=tòtògbé (as for Mende)
b'fímá 'Medicine' thought to make a man powerful over others	à -b'fímá 'Medicine' made by Mende, as a source of obtaining power and control over other people
màpílá Spirit in the shape of a very tall man, mythical giant	à -màmpílá Mythical spirit <del>was</del> supposed to take away naughty children



Other methods of restriction in harvesting are the use of à -wálkà, and à -wánká (see 3.442). The penalty for contravening the à -wálkà and à -wánká is thought to be inflicted by 'God' in the case of à -wálkà and by the 'spirits' in the case of à -wánká. In the case of à -pór's however, the penalty involves very severe physical punishment or even torture for men, and heavy fines for women.

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One of the earlier functions of the Poro was the control of economic activity, deciding the times of harvesting, as well as punishing those who destroyed crops. See K. Little, 'The Poro society as an arbiter of culture' African Studies 7, 1, March 1948, pp. 1-15.

Divination in the form of =tòtògbé involves the use of a bunch of straws in the same way as the indigenous method rò-gbét, or à-wálkà .

à-bófimá is prepared only by the Mende even among the Temne. Several accounts are given on how it is prepared, the most common being that it is prepared from parts of human beings.

The use of 'bogeymen' to frighten children is common, the most frequent being à-mampilá. Others include à-rónsó, and à-mòkò  and à-mòkò .

#### 5.46 Implements

	MENDE	TEMNE
mbówá Knife		à-bóká Cutlass
jàgbàwà Large metal basin		à-yàgbàwà (as for Mende)
kpógbó Hammer		kò-gbógbó Hammer
lòndima Nail		à-róntámá Nail
kpàfá Bag		à-gbànfá Hunter's bag

Apart from à-gbànfá, all these implements relate to metal working, an explanation being the fact that the blacksmith occupies a central role in the community, particularly in the secret societies, as the manufacturer and custodian of the ritual implements.<sup>2</sup> Though the generic term for blacksmith is itself borrowed from Susu, (ù-kàbí, 3. ), Temne has also borrowed the Mende-derived ù-sìkí to refer specifically to a person in charge of society weapons and tools (usually, though not always, a blacksmith).

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1. cf. the use of such 'bogeymen' in English as 'Winnie with the long green horns', 'Winnie with the iron teeth', by parents.
  2. It is of the utmost importance that such custodians of society implements never leave the town; this may explain why blacksmiths are often cripples.

The influence of the Mende blacksmith may have increased with the spread of the Poro and the Bundu, two societies, introduced by the Mende, which rely on the blacksmith for their ritual implements.

The Mende are renowned hunters using their knowledge of ironworking for the manufacture of guns (Me. kpàndé) Like the jeliba and his è-bálá, the hunter's bag, à-gbànfá is very closely guarded by every hunter, allowing no one to touch it as it supposed to contain all the powerful 'medicines' that make one a successful hunter.

#### MENDE

jòp>wáhùn<sup>1</sup> Garden, cupboard for

#### TEMNE

jòp>wáhùn<sup>1</sup> Garden, cupboard for  
storing vegetables and other  
crops, stall for trading

à-yòp>wâ Agricultural  
market

mànja Large farm, chief's farm

kè-màntià Large rice farm

These two terms may well have been introduced into Temne during the nineteenth century when the Kossoh, a general nineteenth century term for the Mende Liberated Africans, moved into Koya Temne territory to obtain farming land which was not available to them in the then 'colony' of Sierra Leone (i.e. what is now known as Freetown and the Western Area). The fact that the Mende form of the word

- 
1. Another example of the use of a single word to mean both garden and market is the Manding term fala, Garden, Market. The etymon of the place name Falaba, in the northern boundary of Sierra Leone, is Large agricultural garden or market. Falaba was an important trading centre in the nineteenth century, see P.K. Mitchell, 'Early trade routes of the Sierra Leone Protectorate' Sierra Leone Studies, N.S.16, June 1962, p.204.

is used both for garden and market (trading stall) suggests that the dominant trade goods among the Mende were agricultural produce.

#### 5.48 Musical Instruments<sup>1</sup>

MENDE	TEMNE
fàngà Hour-glass drum	à-fánkà Hour glass drum
kóngómá Type of sansa constructed from a small wooden box, with four metal strips protruding over a hole in the top of the box	à-kónkómá (as for Mende)
sángbá Conical drum	à-sángbá (as for Mende)

à-kónkómá is played by individuals or groups of individuals at anytime as a form of entertainment. à-fánkà and à-sángbá have become popular instruments in Temne ceremonial dances and popular festivals; à-sángbá is not played by the Temne themselves, the Mende still being considered the expert players of this drum. (cf. é-bálá still only played by the Susu and Maninka jelibas).

#### 5.49 Punishment

MENDE	TEMNE
ndámhá 1. Crocodile, 2. Stocks 2. Stocks	à-dámhá Stocks
gbánákú A distinctive hair- style for criminals in which the head is shaved in patches	mè-gbánánkó (as for Mende)

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1. See A.K. Turay 'A vocabulary of Temne musical instruments', Sierra Leone Language Review, 5, 1966, pp. 27-33.



The indigenous term à-kúy, 1. Crocodile, 2. Stocks suggests that in both languages the meaning Stocks has been derived from Crocodile, the shape of the stocks being like the teeth of a crocodile. Although both à-dámhá and à-kúy co-occur in Temne for Stocks, the Temne have not borrowed à-dámhá in the sense of Crocodile.

The hairstyle mě-gbánánkó became widely used as a form of punishment in the early 1950's when several people migrated to the diamond mining area of Sierra Leone in Mende and Kono territory, forming communes of illicit miners and establishing for themselves special rules of conduct. Breaking the rules resulted in being given this haircut and in ultimate expulsion from the commune. Acceptance into another commune as long as one had this haircut was difficult, thus barring the culprit from any ~~any~~ illicit mining for a considerable period.

## CHAPTER SIX

### 6 LIMBA AND BULLOM LOANWORDS

These two sources are discussed in a single chapter because ,of all the sources of loanwords into Temne,they have contributed the least number of words. This is a purely quantitative judgement used for convenience and clearer presentation;the ~~little~~<sup>Small</sup> number of words derived from these languages does not detract from their significance in the Temne cultural structure.

#### 6.1 LIMBA

6.1.1 The Limba live in the Northern Province of Sierra Leone,~~xxx~~ in an area extending over 1,900 square miles from just north of Makeni in the Bombali District to the Guinea border in the north,and in the extreme south-west extend<sup>ing</sup> into Kambia. Next to the Mende and the Temne,the Limba are the third largest ethnic group in Sierra Leone, the 1963 census figures having recorded a total number of 183,496 Limba inhabitants in Sierra Leone. They are an agricultural people,making their farms of upland rice,their staple food,on the hill slopes. The Limba also rely on various palm products,and are considered the ~~most famous~~<sup>major</sup> palm-wine tappers in Sierra Leone.

6.12 Limba is a class language whose classification, unlike its neighbours, the Mel languages<sup>1</sup>, is still not certain, Greenberg having included it in the 'collection' of so-called 'West Atlantic' languages.<sup>2</sup> In an effort to put forward a systematic account of the movements of the Limba, Dorjahn and Tholley<sup>3</sup> attempted piecing together isolated fragments of traditions from various sources. But these attempts are admittedly conjectural and supported by little evidence. The Limba were definitely in Sierra Leone, however, in the sixteenth century, having been marked on a late sixteenth century map, in roughly their present area, between the 'Temnes' and the 'Jalunkas'.<sup>4</sup> It can therefore be assumed that some

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1. D. Dalby, 'The Mel Languages: A Reclassification Of Southern 'West Atlantic' \* African Language Studies, VI, 1965, pp. 1-17
  2. J. H. Greenberg, Languages of Africa, Hague, 1963
  3. V. R. Dorjahn and A. S. Tholley, 'A Provisional History of the Limba, with Special Reference to Tonko Limba Chiefdom', Sierra Leone Studies, N.S. 12, Dec. 1959, pp. 273-283
  4. A. De Almada, \* Tratado Breve dos Rios de Guine \*, 2nd. ser. vol. iii, ed. by A. Brasio.

form of contact between the Limba and their Temne neighbours was already established before the end of the sixteenth century. According to Laing<sup>1</sup>, the Limba were often involved in war with Gbandi (their Loko neighbours), and were a source of slaves to other ethnic groups. The Limba today remain close neighbours of the Temne, with many Limba (especially in Bombali and Kambia Districts) speaking Temne as a second language.

### 6.13 Semantic Categories of Limba-derived Loanwords

The majority of Limba-derived items, like those from other African languages<sup>2</sup>, refer to cultural <sup>concepts</sup> ~~terms~~ and 'secret societies'. The Rabay, <sup>the</sup> male circumcision society, is the society to which <sup>most</sup> ~~the~~ Limba-derived terms refer, though there are other 'secret' societies, not ~~very~~ popular among the Temne, which have been a source of Limba-derived words in Temne. The terms for rice and palm-wine are also

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1. A. G. Laing, Travels in the Timanee, Kooranko and Soolima Countries, London, 1825

2. This would include Manding/Susu-derived items as well, since <sup>many</sup> ~~the~~ terms derived from these source languages are, like <sup>terms relating to</sup> secret societies, <sup>'mystical'</sup> ~~mystery~~ terms <sup>relating to</sup> ~~about~~ divination, magic, and religion. See f.n. | p. 173

Limba-derived, as are those for a farm-hut and palm-wine gourd

61131 Secret Societies

LIMBA

TEMNE

hubiroŋ Enclosure, fence

à-birôŋ Enclosure, fence in  
a bush for the Rabay  
initiation. cf. the  
Bundu kà-yàrmà 5.4171

hugboda Part of physical  
training for young  
men

à-gbòdà Part of Rabay ini-  
tiation ceremony

wugbòsò Stone

à-gbòsò Stones collected by  
initiants into Rabay,  
and put under a kola  
tree

ragbondowali Acrobatic  
dance

mà-gbòndòkálî Acrobatic dance  
display by boys who  
have completed their  
initiation in Rabay

kuligbòŋ Whip made of  
animal hide

kà-língbòŋ Whip used in Rabay  
cf. kà-yògbá 5.418

# LIMBA

# TEMNE

bagbangbani 'Devil' thought  
to have power of life  
and death

à-gbángbání Powerful 'devil',  
seen only by those who  
have been initiated into  
Rabay

hudamba Male secret society

à-damba' Limba male secret  
society

à-gbèsò is one of the most important rites that young boys perform during their initiation into the Rabay. On an appointed day, before they are finally dispersed, all the young initiants go to a place about five or six miles away from their initiation 'bush' à-birôn, collect medium-sized pieces of rock, and bring them back to the village while singing and dancing. These rocks are collected beneath a kola tree which then becomes a symbol of unity among all the initiants who have each contributed a piece of rock to the à-gbèsò. All through their life-time, disputes between men who contributed to the same à-gbèsò are settled when the elders ask them to think about their à-gbèsò under the kola tree. Once every year, the surrounding ground where

à-gbòsò lies beneath the kola tree is cleaned by the members of the group who originally collected it.\*

The actual period spent in the initiation 'bush' varies, lasting from two to three months. During this period, the boys undergoing initiation are taught various techniques in hunting and trapping, wrestling, camping and dancing. The most popular form of dance taught is ~~many~~ mà-gbòndòkálî, more commonly known as 'Baboon dance' in Sierra Leone, since every boy has to perform this dance in public on the day they are brought out of the 'bush', wearing dresses made of baboon's skin.

The à-gbángbání and à-dòmbá, though known to the Temne, are still organised only by Limba, with Temne who have been through the Rabay initiation admitted as ordinary members.

## 6.132 Divination and Magic

### LIMBA

### TEMNE

fɔŋfɛŋ    Phrase used in  
          'lifting' a curse  
          that has been put  
          on s.o.

fòŋféŋ (as for Limba)

Although this is the only Limba-derived item under this category, the Limba are considered by the Temne as having very powerful 'medicines' (Te. ɛ́-sásá). Often, a Temne would send for a Limba 'medicine' man to divine a wrongdoers' identity, cast a spell on witches, or even make charms. Such Limba when they settled in Temne villages were, like the Manding and Susu charm-makers, held in awe while at the same time given great respect. In fact the Limba 'medicine' man's power and prestige, despite the spread of 'Islam' among the Temne, still remains great, and <sup>he may be</sup> ~~are~~ sent for to perform some magical rituals even by professed Muslims.



6.133 Agriculture (i.e. Rice Farming and Palm-wine Tapping)

LIMBA

TEMNE

pagala Rice (generic term)

pá-lá (as for Limba)

kabanka House

kè-bánká Small palm-leaf hut  
built on rice farms  
as temporary shelter

mampama Palm-wine, alcohol

mè-màmpàmà Palm-wine

kubuli Palm-wine gourd

kè-bùlí (as for Limba)

Pereira<sup>1</sup> recorded the <sup>Temne</sup> term maloo for Rice in the first decade of the sixteenth century. It appears that Temne subsequently replaced this widespread Manding word for the Limba-derived pá-lá. The Limba are renowned as strong farm workers, sometimes forming themselves in <sup>to</sup>working groups and offering their services to Temne farmers for a fee.<sup>2</sup>

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1. P. Pereira, Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis, ed. by R. Mauny, Bissau, 1956.

2. R. H. Finnegan, Survey of the Limba People of Northern Sierra Leone, London, 1956

6.134 Music

LIMBA

TEMNE

huthuthe Sansa

`a-thùthé (as for Limba)

This is the only word that has been borrowed from Limba in this category. It is, however, being replaced by the Manding/Susu-derived `a-kòndí (see 3.4 ) in many Temne areas. Where it does occur, it is considered archaic.

## 6.2 BULLOM LOANWORDS

6.2\ Bullom, like Temne, is a Mel language, spoken along the coast of Sierra Leone. Because both languages share common roots in their vocabularies, it is difficult to ascertain loaning between the two languages. It has been possible, however, to note certain words in Bullom that have been borrowed into Temne, most of them having secondary features in their Temne forms.

6.22 It is known from historical sources<sup>1</sup> that the Bullom lived on the Sierra peninsula for several centuries before the Temne drove a wedge between them, dividing the Bullom into two halves, the Bullom ( áj -bòlòm ) staying north of the Sierra Leone River and the Mampa ( áj -mámpà ) to the south of the river. Both the Bullom and the Mampa are collectively referred to in <sup>the</sup> literature as Sherbro. The northern Bullom have been absorbed by the Temne and Susu, while the southern are likewise being rapidly absorbed by the Mende.

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1. C. Fyfe, A History of Sierra Leone, Oxford, 1962

6.23 The <sup>main</sup> area <sup>of the Temne language</sup> that has been influenced by Bullom appears to be that of the Poro society. Although the word for the society itself, as well as <sup>for</sup> several rites and functions of the society, have been derived from Mende (see 5.41), the personal names for members of the society have all been derived from Bullom. The organisation of Temne and Bullom Poro have several details in common which they however do not share with the Mende form of the society. Three senior Poro officials, Tasso<sup>1</sup> ( à-thásó ), Yasi ( à-yási ), and Gbeni ( à-gbèni ) are found in the Bullom and Temne forms though not in the Mende forms of the society. Accounts of secret societies in West Africa listed these three as separate secret societies, but they now appear to have been absorbed by the Poro. Harley<sup>2</sup> was probably correct in stating that the term Poro originally meant 'unity', as the evidence now seems to suggest that it is indeed a

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1. This word still occurs as a place-name for the island in the Sierra River which was the headquarters of the Tasso Society.

2. G.W. Harley, Notes on the Poro in Liberia, Cambridge, Mass. 1941; F.W. Butt-Thompson, West African Secret Societies, London, 1929; T.J. Alldridge, The Sherbro and its Hinterland, London, 1901.

'union' of the Tasso, Yase, and Gbeni societies, originally Bullom societies, together with the Mende Poro. Temne Poro in its present stage has gone through two separate influences:

- 1) The introduction by the Bullom of Yase, Tasso and Gbeni, when the words listed below were borrowed into Temne;
- 2) The introduction by the Mende of Poro, incorporating the preceding societies ~~with new elements~~.

#### 6.24 Poro Terms

BULLOM	TEMNE
<sup>Wini</sup> <del>tan</del> Grand official and most sacred dance of the Poro, led by the Tasso official	à-wíni (as for Bullom)
nchénchéné Poro dance led by the Yase official	à-téntíné (as for Bullom)
fàè Poro bush for grand- Council meetings	à-fàrè (as for Bullom)

BULLOM

TEMNE

bànkàndà	Poro enclosure	kà-bànkàlò (as for Bullo)
tásó	Official in Poro	à-thásó (as for Bullom)
gbèní	Official in Poro, seen only by members	à-gbèní (as for Bullom)
yásé	Official in Poro	à-yásé (as for Bullom)

à-wini is sometimes called à-tòl à-bàna (lit. The big medicine) since it brings together all the senior officials, i.e. à-thásó, à-gbèní, and à-yásé. It is performed only at the funeral ceremony of a member of the Poro or at the start of the initiation ceremony.

Even though one finds à-gbàniká (see 5.4(7)), in every village where there is Poro, there are only very few towns with à-fàrè; several Poro areas have only a single à-fàrè, each à-gbàniká in the area sending representatives to important general held occasionally in the à-fàrè. In Temne country, the most important à-fàrè where annual 'Grand Councils' of the Poro are held is at Yonibana, near the Mende and <sup>Bullom</sup>~~Shororo~~ boundaries.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### 7. ENGLISH / KRIO LOANWORDS

#### 7.1 Introduction

##### 7.11 English and Krio in Sierra Leone

English and Krio are discussed here together since the vast majority of English-derived loanwords in Temne have been borrowed through the medium of Krio. Monolingual speakers of Temne refer to both English and Krio by the same name (kè-pòthò, 9.41), Krio also being referred to as inglís by older speakers of Krio. This folk-identification of Krio and English explains to a large extent the influence and prestige which Krio has gained among the speakers of indigenous languages in Sierra Leone. A knowledge of Krio has often been equated with a knowledge of English, the language of the colonial rulers (and the official language of Sierra Leone), and it was clearly advantageous, both economically and socially, to be able to express oneself in 'English'. Today, Krio is no longer regarded as a 'prestige' language, though its widespread use continues.

7.12 English mariners and traders were active on the Sierra Leone River during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and throughout this period they were in close contact with the coastal Temne. The Royal African Company, founded in 1672, had two factories in Sierra Leone, one of them in 'Bunce Island'.<sup>1</sup> This early period of direct contact with English mariners and traders was responsible for the introduction of several loanwords of nautical origin (7.463 ) as well as some trade terms. These pre-1800 words may have entered Temne through a 'pidginised' form of English not too different from the Krio that was later to become the language of Freetown.<sup>2</sup>

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1. The toponym 'Bunce Island' has been variously written as 'Bence', 'Bance', and 'Bunce'. These are all variations from Te. à-yél Island + bènsàlé. Monolingual speakers of Temne are unaware of the Anglicised forms Bence, Bance, or Bunce.

2. See I.F. Hancock, 'A provisional comparison of the English-based Creoles', African Language Review, 8, 1969, pp. 7-72. For an example of the 'pidgin' spoken by the Temne in the 1790's, see A.M. Falconbridge, Two Voyages to the River Sierra Leone, London, 1794, p. 77



7.13 In 1787 Freetown was founded as a settlement for freed slaves, the first group of black settlers arriving from England in September of that year, further groups being brought later from Nova Scotia. The British attempt to suppress the slave-trade during the first half of the nineteenth century resulted in thousands of slaves being liberated from slave ships in transit. From 1808 to 1842, the majority of these 'Liberated Africans', as these recaptives were called at the time, were resettled in Sierra Leone (reaching a total of over 70,000 by 1841<sup>1</sup>). It was among these original black settlers, Nova Scotians and Maroons, and subsequent Liberated Africans, that Krio came to be a native language. The land in which they were settled was 'ceded' to the British Government by a Temne chief, ('Naimbana', a probable misnomer from E.'name' + Te., personal name, Gbana), so that from the founding of the 'Province of Freedom', the Temne and the new 'Creole' population were in close contact.

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1. C. Lloyd, The Navy and the Slave Trade, London, 1849, pp. 275-6.

7.14 Freetown developed into a trading and educational centre from the end of the eighteenth century, and Krio traders moved into Temne areas. In 1796, for example, when Zachary Macaulay opened a trading factory on the Rio Pongas, he found half a dozen 'Settlers' already living there and Thomas Ellis, a Maroon trader, had established a 'factory' for timber at Mabang by 1850.<sup>1</sup> A large number of trade terms of English/Krio origin entered the Temne language during the nineteenth century. By the time the German missionary, C.F. Schlenker, compiled his dictionary,<sup>2</sup> in the middle of the century, he was able to identify one hundred and forty nine English-derived items in the language. A further nineteen entries in his dictionary are of English origin, but were not apparently recognised by him as such.

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1. C.H. Fyfe, 'European and Creole influence in the hinterland before 1896', Sierra Leone Studies, N.S. 6, 1956, pp. 113ff.

2. C.F. Schlenker, An English-Temne Dictionary, London, 1880.

7.15 In 1896, the British Government, after over one hundred years in 'Sierra Leone' (i.e. the peninsular area 'ceded' to Britain by Naimbana), declared a Protectorate over the rest of the country. Freetown became the administrative capital and Krio teachers, administrators and missionaries were posted <sup>inland</sup> in large numbers. A secondary school was opened in Bo in 1906, with the result that boys from the 'Protectorate' could now have a formal education in English. English loanwords began to be introduced into Temne not only through Krio, but, for a second time, directly from British English, having a greater degree of phonological approximation to British forms of the language (see, for example, à-blànkêt, 7.4 ). New administrative situations gave rise to a corpus of relevant loanwords and words relating to education, the army, medicine and transport were also borrowed extensively.

7.16 With the spread of education and the acquisition of western science and technology the number of loanwords from English continues to increase.

The introduction of political parties in the last twenty years has also led to the borrowing of political terms. As examples of recent borrowing one may cite à-màsàlâ, Martial Law, and ù-pískáp, Slovenly person, (from American English 'Peace Corps'). English/Krio today remains the most active source of loanwords into Temne, (even though at a slower rate than in the nineteenth and *early* twentieth centuries), all other languages, including other African languages, now have <sup>ing</sup> little or no influence.

## 7.2 Phonology of Krio

### 7.21 Consonants

7.2 Phonology of Krio														
7.21 Consonants														
	BI-LABIAL		LABIO-DENTAL		ALVEOLAR		PALATAL		PALATO-VELAR		VELAR		LABIO-VELAR	
Plosives	p	b			t	d					k	g	kp	gb
Affricates							c	j						
Fricatives			f	v	s	z	ʃ				r			
Nasals		m				n				ɲ		ŋ		
Lateral						l								
Semi-vowel	w							y						

### 7.211 Vowels

i                      u  
                                  o  
                                  e  
                                  ε      ɔ  
                                  a

### 7.212 Adaptation of English Phonemes in Krio

English-derived words are adapted into the Krio phonological pattern and although it is the Krio forms which mostly

affect the form of the word in Temne, some examples of English:Krio differential correspondences are given here in order to demonstrate more clearly the source of the Temne form when it is borrowed via Krio. Only those <sup>British English</sup> phonemes which do not have direct equivalents in Krio are discussed.

7.2121 The English central vowels, which do not occur in Krio, are realised as follows;

E. ʌ :K ɔ or a

e.g. E. 'luck, cut, love' K. lɔk, kɔt, lɔv

E. 'sun, nut, stop' K. sən, nat, tap

E. ə :K a or ɔ in final position

e.g. E. 'butter, actor' K. bɔta, aktɔ

E. ɔː :K a or ɔ

e.g. E. 'bird, hurt' K. bɔd, at

E. ɑː :K a

e.g. E. 'calm, park' K. kam, pak

7.2122 Krio does not distinguish vowel length, realising both short and long vowels as short;

E. 'meal, mill' K. mil

E. 'full, fool' K. ful

7.213 The diphthongs ei and ou are realised as pure vowels e and o respectively in Krio;

E. 'day,say,play'                      K. de, se, ple .

E. 'go,so,flow'                      K. go, so, flo

7.2124 The English dental fricatives      and      become t and d respectively in Krio;

E. 'three teeth,method'              K. tri, tit, mɛtɔd

E. 'then,feather,this'              K. dɛn, fɛda, dis

## 7.22 Phonological Correspondences between Krio and Temne

(i.e. in Krio loanwords in Temne)

7.221 Only Krio:Temne correspondences have been listed, since it is the Krio form of the English-derived word that normally determines its form in Temne. Where there is phonological evidence to the contrary, this will be treated separately.

### 7.222 Consonants (non-differential)

Several consonantal phonemes in Krio have no direct equivalent in Temne, resulting in a number of differential sound correspondences. Three examples are cited for

~~Q1111~~ ~~for~~ these ~~non~~-differential correspondences, while only one is cited for the non-differential correspondences. The Krio form is cited first, followed by the Temne.

p:p

pot Report, complain =pót (as for Krio)

b:b<sup>1</sup>

bab Have or give haircut =báb (as for Krio)

t:t (final only)

kot Court à-kôt (as for Krio)

k:k

kik Kick =kík (as for Krio)

f:f

fel Fail a test or an examination =fél (as for Krio)

s:s

susmáka Cobbler ù-sùsmékà (as for Krio)

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1. The differential correspondence b:p occurs in the item

K. jɔb :Te. à-yâp, this being the only example noted in

→ Krio:Temne. cf. however =kóprá, 9.42, and à-wúthpà. ~~11~~



r:r

bérin Funeral, bereave-  
ment, funeral  
procession

à-bérin (as for Krio)

m:m

blem Blame

=blém Blame

n:n

nos Nurse, ward attendant

à-nôs (as for Krio)

ŋ:ŋ

geŋ Group of people

à-kêŋ Group of workers or  
dancers

### 7.223 Consonants (differential)

t:th

dókta Medical doctor

ù-rókthà (as for Krio)

téla Tailor

ù-thélà Tailor, seamstress

báta Butter

à-bóthà (as for Krio)

d:r (before ɔ )

dákta Doctor

ù-rókthà (as for Krio)

dózin Dozen

à-rósìn (as for Krio)

dɔtibóks Dustbin

à-ròtíibôks (as for Krio)

ɔwɔ

g:k

gádin Garden	à-kádìn (as for Krio)
bágin Bargain, conspiracy	à-bákìn (as for Krio)
bag Handbag	à-bâk (as for Krio)

c:t

cuk Stab, inject	=túk Inject (medical)
wacmán Watchman	ù-wàtmán (as for Krio)
lane Launch	à-lânt Launch

j:y

jigá Jigger	à-yíká (as for Krio)
sájin Sergeant	ù-sáyìn Sergeant
jòb Job, employment	à-yôp Temporary employment

j:k<sup>1</sup> (final only)

brij Bridge	à-brîk Concrete bridge
plɛj Mortgage, pawn	=plék Pawn
katrij Catridge	à-kátrîk (as for Krio)

---

1. An isolated example in which Krio final /j/ corresponds to Temne /y/ is K. jɔj :Te. ù-yây, Judge (this being explained as consonant harmony. cf. à-wàndawês, 7.4)

v:b (non-final)

fíva Fever, malaria	`à-fíbà (as for Krio)
goyavá Guava	`à-kòyàbá (as for Krio)
vot Vote	=bót Vote

v:f (final)

stov Cooking stove	`à-sthóf (as for Krio)
kəv Curve	`à-kâf Curve
liv Leave, holiday	`à-líf (as for Krio)

z:s

dózin Dozen	`à-rósin (as for Krio)
kəzín Cousin	`à-kòsín Close acquaintance from the same area
siz Confiscate	=sís (as for Krio)

ʃ:s

ʃut Shoot	=súth (as for Krio)
búʃə t Khaki bush-shirt	`à-búsô t (as for Krio)
brəʃ Brush	`à-brôs Brush

## 7.224 Vowels

	i:i	
kik Kick		=kík (as for Krio)
	e:e	
get Gate		à-kêt (as for Krio)
	ɛ:ɛ	
træk Be stubborn		=trák (as for Krio)
	a:a	
ka Car		à-kâ (as for Krio)
	ay:ay <sup>1</sup>	
fray Fry		=frây Cook in oil
	ɔ:ɔ	
kəp Cup, breakable dish		à-kôp (as for Krio)

---

1. This correspondence is to be contrasted with E./aɪ/ :Te./ay/ in loanwords presumed to be direct from Southern British English in the pre-1800 period;

E. mail	K. <del>maɪl</del>	Te. à-mâyl Mile
E. pipe	K. pɛp	Te. à-pâyp Pipe
E. kind	K. kɛn	Te. à-kâyn Type, kind

o:o

kot Court

à-kôth (as for Krio)

u:u

ſut Shoot

=súth (as for Krio)

### 7.225 Tonal Correspondences

A Krio lexical item has one (or more rarely, for words of non-English origin, two) 'accented', i.e. high tone syllable(s). The tone pattern of a word borrowed into Temne from Krio is determined by the position of this accented syllable in Krio.

### 7.2251 Monosyllables

Many monosyllabic stems in Krio e.g. trɛk (E. trek), may be either verbal or nominal without accentual distinction. When such stems are borrowed into Temne, however, they are distinguished tonally, the nominals being borrowed with a falling tone and the verbals with a high tone. The term trɛk, for example, has been borrowed as

- a) à-trɛk, Official tour of duty inland, and  
=trɛ́k To go on an official tour of duty.

## 7.2252 Disyllables

Disyllabic nominal stems with the first syllable accented in Krio are borrowed into Temne as

a) HL if with final V, l, or n:

K. fíva      Te. à-fíbà Malaria

K. tébul      Te. à-thébùl Table

K. gádin      Te. à-kádin Garden

b) HF if with final C (except l or n):

K. ófis      Te. à-wófís

K. kánvas      Te. à-kánbâs Shoe sp.

K. kólbót      Te. à-kólbôt Culvert

Disyllabic nominal stems with the second syllable accented in Krio are borrowed into Temne as follows;

a) LH if with final V:

K. padí      Te. ù-pàdí Mate, friend, pal

K. bebí      Te. kà-bèbí Baby, doll

K. golí      Te. ù-kòlí Goalkeeper

b) LF if with final C

K. masín      Te. à-màsín Machine

K. brɛfós      Te. à-brɛfôs Lunch break

K. bodós      Te. à-bòdôs Wooden house

All disyllabic verbal stems with the first/accented in Krio are borrowed as HH:

K. kóba	Te. =kóba	Cover, cheat
K. óda	Te. =wóda	Order
K. mared	Te. =máred	Marry (in church or mosque)

Disyllabic verbal stems with the second syllable accented in Krio are borrowed as

a) HH if with final V:

K. rɛdí	Te. =rɛdí	Be prepared, ready
K. kantó	Te. =kantó	Realise oneself

b) LF if with a final C:

K. apíl	Te. =yapíl	Appeal
K. bambót	Te. =bambôt	Be promiscuous
K. ankáf	Te. =yankôf	Handcuff

### 7.2253 Trisyllables

Trisyllabic nominal are borrowed as

a) HHL if the first syllable is accented in Krio:

K. kápinta	Te. ù-kápínthà	Carpenter
K. kámína	Te. ù-kámínà	Governor
K. mínista	Te. ù-mínistà	Minister (political)

b) LHL if the second syllable is accented

K. kabúdu Te. à-kàbúdù Group of close friends

K. manéja Te. ù-mānéyà Manager

K. ankinca Te. à-yànkítà Handkerchief

c) LLH if the third syllable is accented in Krio,  
with final V:

K. kakbóbí Te. à-kàkbòbí Brassiere

K. kabɛlé Te. k-àbɛlé Cow's entrails

K. goyavá Te. à-kòyàbá Guava

d) LLF if the third syllable is accented in Krio,  
with a final C:

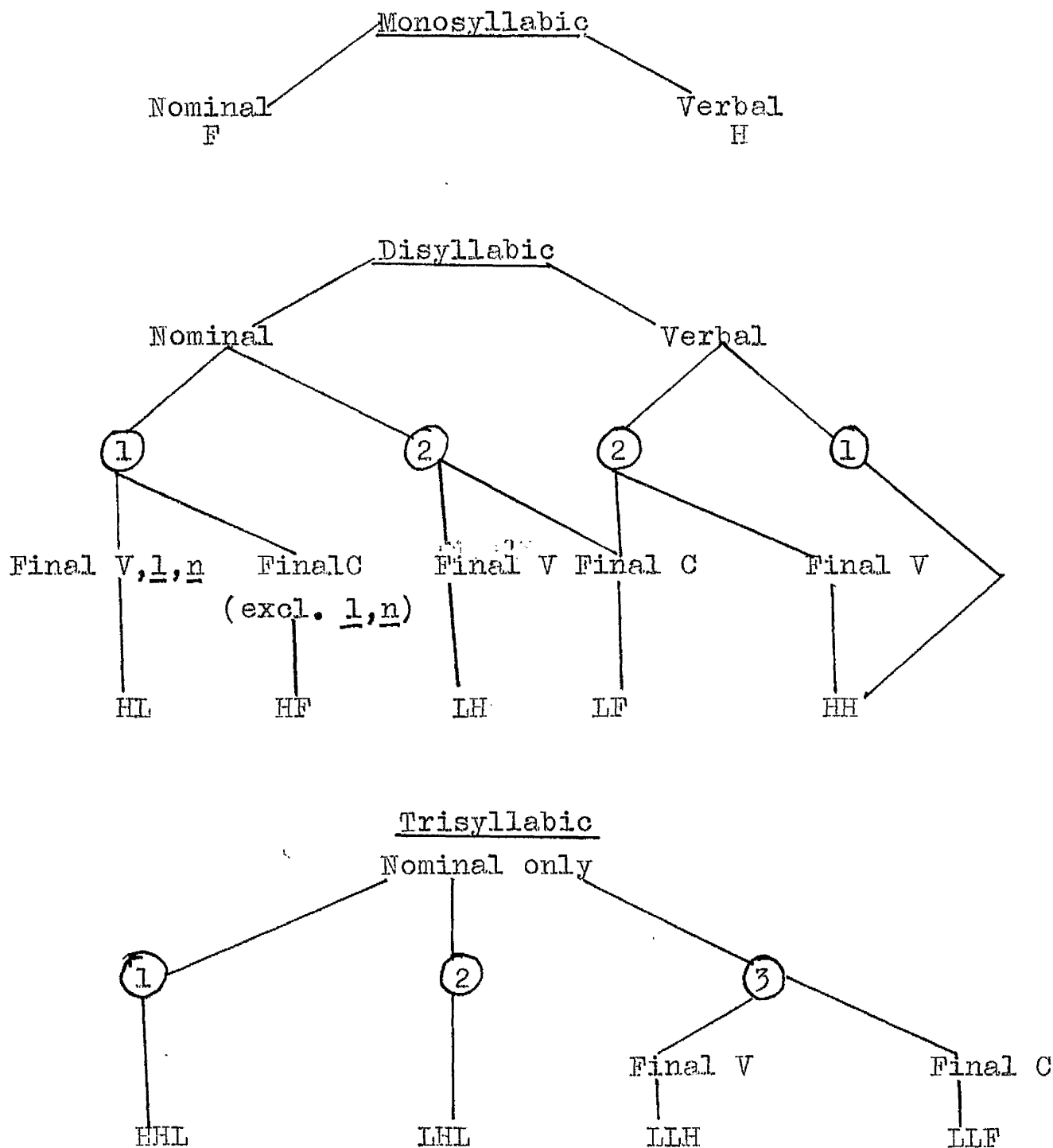
K. b̩arinkrón Te. à-b̩érinkrôn Cemetary

K. k̩arosín Te. k-àràsîn Kerosine

K. ɔ̩ndavést Te. à-wàndàwê̩s Undervest.



7.2254 Summary Charts of Tonal Correspondences between  
Krio and English-derived loanwords in Temne.<sup>1</sup>



1. Numbers refer to accented syllables.

### 7.3 Semantic Change

7.31 There is close semantic correspondence between most of the items borrowed from E/K and their source-items. This is particularly so with words relating to specific items like trade goods and artefacts. There are, however, a number of cases where E/K loanwords in Temne have become restricted or ~~narrowed~~<sup>extended</sup> in meaning, or have undergone a shift in application.

7.312 Words that have undergone semantic restriction when borrowed from Krio into Temne include,

kà-tên, 7.4.023

`à-wófîs, 7.414

`à-sûp 7.4.016

7.313 Examples of words borrowed from Krio with extended meanings in Temne include,

=sîblê s 7.4.043

`à-mísòn 7.44

`ù-kòsín 7.4.03

7.314 Examples of shift in application are

`à-pàlà 7.4711

mà-tóris 7.4.012

`à-yànkítà 7.4.02

7.32 Borrowing# at different periods from E/K into Temne has in a number of cases resulted in the occurrence of pairs of doublets from the same ultimate source-item. Older forms still occur in the speech of some Temne speakers, but are generally considered archaic as compared to the more recently Krio-derived forms.

	<u>Older Forms</u>	<u>Modern Forms</u>	<u>Krio</u>
Oven	à-hófèn	à-wóbìn	óvin
Tumbler	à-thám̀bàl	à-thám̀blà	tóm̀bla
Shovel	à-sé̀bàl	à-sé̀bùl	şé̀bul

Older forms borrowed from other languages also co-occur as doublets with later borrowings from E/K,

<u>Older Forms</u>	<u>Modern Forms</u>
à-límà (P. lima) File	à-fây1 (K. fay1)
è-thópà (P. estopa) Oakum	ε-wòkém (K. okúm)
à-pípà (P. pipa) Barrel	à-bárè1 (K. bárè1)

Educational terms from Manding and Arabic-derived week-day names have likewise been replaced by E/K items except in certain contexts (see 3. 461 ).

7.33 A number of indigenous items are also being replaced by words borrowed from E/K, e.g.

<u>Indigenous(archaic)</u>	<u>Modern</u>
à-sóthrà Head rest, pillow	à-pílà Pillow
à-gbòngbó Pocket	à-pókít Pocket
à-bùthú Purse	à-pô's Purse

7.34 A few Krio-derived words in Temne are borrowed in forms which are the result of convergence either between English and Krio or between Krio and Temne, e.g.

E. 'Hawker's licence' + K. wáka, Walk > K. wakalésin, borrowed into Temne as à-wakalésin, Hawker's licence.

E. 'Search' + 'Charge' > K. ciaj > Te. =tiyát, Search, charge.

K. másénja (E. messenger) + Te. ù-sóyà (K. sója E. soldier) > Te. ù-mànsóyà, Court Messenger.

## 7.4 Semantic Categories

Since English and Krio have influenced Temne to such a large extent, resulting in hundreds of E/K-derived items being borrowed into Temne, the lists presented under the various semantic categories cannot be exhaustive and therefore, only well known items, common in the speech of monolingual speakers of Temne, are quoted in the lists.

### 7.41 Administration and Politics

#### 7.411 Legal

KRIO	TEMNE
fayn Fine (legal)	=fáyñ Impose a fine on s.o.
kot Court	à-kôt (as for Krio)
lɔ Law	à-lâ English law
lɔ́ya (E. Lawyer) Solicitor, Barrister	ù-lɔ́ya (as for Krio)
majistrét Magistrate	ù-máyístrèt (as for Krio)
sámɔs (E. Summons) Start legal proceedings against someone	=sámɔ́s (as for Krio)

KRIO

TEMNE

wítnəs Witness

à-yíknêś (as for Krio)

apíl Appeal

=yàpíl Appeal

iyárinfi (E. Hearing fee)

à-yárèfî (as for Krio)

Sum of money paid

by both parties in

accourt case as costs

jɔj Judge

ù-yôy (as for Krio)

These terms refer mostly to the English legal system introduced by the British during the period of colonial administration, even though the traditional courts have taken up some of the practices of this system. The traditional law in a Temne village would be referred to as mè-sèm for social taboos, and à-sìrà, for anti-social behaviour like stealing, for example, à-lê not being used in these instances. The cases are decided at the chief's compound (Te. ró-kàmà), or at the village community-hall, ró-bàrê. At this level, the elders would frequently try to make a compromise between

the litigants, something they cannot do once the case reaches the court, à-kôt. It is still considered anti-social behaviour for one to seek legal redress directly in à-kôt, without giving the elders of the village an opportunity to make a compromise at the à-bàrê. In a 'native' court, à-yàrèfî is not given back to any of the litigants regardless of who wins the case, it being divided among the elders sitting in judgement.

#### 7.412 Law Enforcement and Detection

##### KRIO

##### TEMNE

polís Police

ù-pòlís Policeman, local  
chiefdom messenger

wóda (E. Warder) Prison  
official, warder

ù-wóda (as for Krio)

ditáktiv Detective

ù-téktîf Plain clothes policeman

présna Prisoner

ù-présna (as for Krio)

# KRIO

# TEMNE

fánət (E. Find out)

=fánót (as for Krio)

Investigate

ciaj (E. Charge, see 7.34)

=tíyát Search, inspect

Search

wárans (E. Warrants) Search

=wárans (as for Krio)

premises (by police

or army)

kofíɔda (E. Curfew order)

k-ɔ́fiwóda (as for Krio)

Curfew

nayn Nine

à-nâyn Signal drummed on

à-thábùlé (see 3.411 )

at nine o'clock during  
a curfew in the colonial  
period; anyone then seen  
out of doors after nine  
p.m. was detained for  
the rest of the night.



KRIO

TEMNE

səl (E.Cell) Prison, cell à-sêl (as for Krio)

ankóf Handcuff à-yànkôf (as for Krio)

jel Jail à-yêl (as for Krio)

A traditional method of detention was the stocks, referred to à-kúy, Crocodile, or by the Mende-derived à-dámbá (see 5.49).

When Britain declared a 'protectorate' over the rest of present-day Sierra Leone in 1898, she met with some resistance from both the Temne and the Mende, with the result that there was a general breakdown of law and order.<sup>1</sup> The terms k-òfiwóda and à-nâyn may have<sup>e</sup> entered Temne as a result of the efforts of the British in imposing their authority and bringing law and order to Temneland especially after the Hut Tax War.

- 
1. The Temne, led by Bai Bureh in the north, refused to pay tax to the British, this refusal resulting in the Hut Tax War of 1898.

7.413 Administrative Officials and Employees

7.4131 Senior Officials

KRIO

TEMNE

g'ónna Governor, Governor-  
General

ù-k'ómínà (as for Krio)

dísi (E. D.C.) District  
Commissioner

ù-dísí (as for Krio)

písi (E. P.C.) Provincial  
Commissioner

ù-písí (as for Krio)

The Governor, ù-k'ómínà was the most senior colonial official, and, like ù-dísí and ù-písí, was a position never held by a Sierra Leonean. After independence in 1961, ù-k'ómínà also acquired the meaning 'Governor-General', the official who replaced the Governor until the declaration of a Republic in April 1971.

Titles and departments were frequently abbreviated, such abbreviations being treated as single lexical items in Temne (cf. also à-pídèblúdi, ex. E. P.W.D. 7.414) . Such titles included the two most important administrative

officials in the Provinces during the colonial regime, the District and Provincial Commissioners. The then 'Protectorate' was divided into two provinces with ù-písí in charge of each of them. These provinces were in turn sub-divided into Districts, with ù-dísí as the administrative head for each one. This administrative structure still operates in Sierra Leone, though these titles have been officially renamed, since independence, as Provincial Secretary and District Officer respectively. Monolingual Temne speakers however still refer to them as ù-písí and ù-dísí.

#### 7.4132 Junior Employees

KRIO	TEMNE
klak (E. Clerk) Secretary typist	ù-klâk (as for Krio)
intáprita Interpreter	ù-thápríthà Interpreter for a District Commossion- er or other colonial officer <sup>1</sup>

---

1. cf. ù-yèrí, 5.412, ù-tókú, 8.412, interpreters for their respective society 'devils' but never referred to as ù-thápríthà

KRIO

TEMNE

séktari (? E. Secretary  
see 7.34) Employee  
of the sanitary  
department in charge  
of spraying disinfectants

ù-sékt'hérì (as for Krio)

mesénja Messenger (see 7.34)

ù-mànsóyà Law enforcement  
officer in the  
Provinces before the  
introduction of the  
regular Police force

makamán<sup>1</sup> (P. maca + E. Man)  
Hammock bearer

ù-màkàmán Chief's hammock  
bearer

To become ù-klâk or ù-tháprithà merely required a  
To become u-klâk or u-tháprithà merely required a

- 
1. Krio may have borrowed the Portuguese-derived á-mákà  
from Temne (see 9.47) to form the hybrid makamán, which  
was in turn borrowed into Temne.

minimum amount of formal education in English. The position of ù-thápríthà was of particular significance since the burden of communication between the colonial administrators and the indigenous ethnic groups rested almost entirely on him. Those who performed this duty were frequently incompetent in their use of <sup>the</sup> English language, and sometimes also incompetent in one or two of the Sierra Leonean languages with which they were supposed to be acquainted since they were often ~~xx~~ expected to know a number of such languages. This situation caused great difficulty in administration and the problem still exists ~~in fact~~ today in Sierra Leone courts, where lawyers, magistrates and judges continue to communicate with non-English-speaking litigants and witnesses through interpreters.

#### 7.4132 Domestic Employees

##### KRIO

##### TEMNE

bɔy Boy, Houseboy, servant

à -bây Houseboy, servant

kuk Cook

ù-kùk (as for Krio)

wacmán Watoman

ù-wàtmân (as for Krio)

The houseboy and carrier were of special importance to Europeans who had special sections of their residences converted to living quarters for their houseboys and cooks. ù-kûk was in close contact with his European master or his wife for most of the time, the medium of communication between them often being in 'pidgin' English<sup>1</sup> as distinct from Krio. Even today, Temne who work as cooks for Englishmen speak to their masters what they consider as 'English' but which is infact 'pidgin' English. ù-kûk, à-bôy, and ù-thápríthà, played an important role in the spread of 'pidgin' among the Temne.

- 
1. An example of this pidgin English is to be found in Falconbridge, Two voyages to the River Sierra Leone, op.cit. p.77, "'oh ! he be fine man, rich too much, he got too much woman" would in Krio be rendered as " i na gud man o, i ge planti kəpə an bəku uman." For further discussion of Sierra Leone Krio and 'pidgin' English, see I.F.Hancock, 'A provisional comparison of English-based Atlantic Creoles' op.cit. Also G.D.Schneider West African Pidgin English, Athens, Ohio, 1966.

## 7.4133 Employment

KRIO

TEMNE

job (E. Job) Employment, duty

à-yôp Work involving carrying  
luggage for a fee; work  
lasting only a short  
time

wok (E. Work)

=wórék Work  
à-wórék Salaried employment  
lasting for some  
period

The distinction between à-yôp and à-wórék depends largely on the time spent on the job rather than its nature. It was common for young boys to wait at a town centre for the arrival of passenger-lorries or for a train at the station, when they would offer their services to carry luggage to the passengers' houses; they were paid a penny, three pence or sixpence, depending on the distance involved and such duties were referred to as à-yôp. Employment which lasted for sometime however, like a chief's hammock carrier, a houseboy or a cook, was à-wórék.

The indigenous term mè-pánth occurs as a generic term for work; while à-wórák is used only for employment and salaried work, mè-pánth includes ~~includes~~ work on one's <sup>own</sup> farm, for example, or any manual labour for which one does not receive a salary.

#### 7.414 Administrative Departments and Buildings

##### KRIO

##### TEMNE

pidəblúdi (E. P.W.D.) Public  
Works Department

à-pidəblúdi (as for Krio)

éne (E. N.A.) Native Administration office

à-yéne (as for Krio)

ófis Office

à-wófis Provincial or  
District Commissioners  
office

kómpaun (E. Compound)  
Compound, house and  
surrounding property

à-kómpân Residential area  
for Senior Civil  
Servants

Since the senior civil servants were originally all expatriates in the Provinces, à-kómpân in Temne



had the specific meaning of white residential area,<sup>1</sup> but the occupation of these areas by African civil servants since independence has resulted in the extension of the term to cover the residential area of all senior civil

- 
1. A traditional Temne song reflects the association of à-kómpân and the European;

<u>ɔ-wuni fera mɔ thase</u>	When the white man passes
<u>ti kɔ kori ɔ-disi</u>	I long to visit the D.C.
<u>ro-kɔmpano</u>	At his residence
<u>ka-potho i tɔlyɛ o</u>	I do not understand English
<u>mate yi u-potho e</u>	Not being an Englishman
<u>Poro ɟa Langba</u>	*Poro and Langba
<u>yema kɔ ro-kɔmpan</u>	I wish to go to the 'compound'
<u>yema kɔ kori ɔ-disi</u>	I wish to call on the D.C.
<u>ka-potho i tɔlyɛ</u>	But I do not understand English
<u>me mbe gboe 'a yi du'</u>	When you get there, "How do you do"
<u>"a a bra mɔnino"</u>	"Ah morning mate" is all you get.

\*Poro and Langba are a pair of female and male names respectively, used in songs as symbols of love and male/female relationships.

servants. Often, where such a site was available, the quarters were built on the top of a hill, then being referred to also as ró-tèŋ (Te. kě-téŋ Hill, cf. Hill station, Freetown's equivalent of ró-tèŋ).

#### 7.415 General Administration

##### KRIO

##### TEMNE

láysín Licence

`à-lésín (as for Krio)

wakalésín (E. Hawker's  
licence) Licence

`à-wàkàlésín (as for Krio)

granted to a petty  
trader

pamít Permit

`à-pâmî Residential permit

pas Pass

`à-pâs Pass

fingaprint (E. Fingerprint)

`à-fìnkàprînt (as for Krio)

Employment card  
containing the  
bearer's fingerprint  
and photograph

# KRIO

# TEMNE

staf (E. Staff) Cane stick  
with crown engraved  
on a metal plate at  
the top, given as a  
symbol of authority  
to Paramount chiefs

kə-sthâf (as for Krio)

à-pàmît and à-pâs were introduced to control the flow of illicit diamond miners to Kono in the early 1950's. They are still in use, à-pâs being granted to temporary visitors, and à-pàmît to those who wish to reside permanently in Kono. à-fînkàprînt was used as a testimonial, especially by cooks and houseboys, and had to be shown to prospective employers by the bearer whenever he sought employment. Its importance has, however, diminished since the decrease of European administrative officials <sup>at</sup> ~~since~~ independence.

One of the duties of ù-dísí was supervising the election of a new Paramount chief and handing over kə-sthâf, the coveted symbol of authority to the successful candidate. Though the Temne outwardly accepted this cane



The Hut Tax War, the resistance movement led by Bai Bureh in 1898, started as a result of the demand by the British to the Temne that they (the Temne) were to pay a 'tax' for their houses, a policy which the Temne claimed was unfair and unjust. Up till today, the Temne still consider 'tax' as financial<sup>a</sup> exploitation, hence their reluctance to pay tax.<sup>1</sup>

Since the Temne authorities with whom the British had their earliest contacts were illiterate, the only way for the Temne to signify their agreement was either to place their thumbprint ~~on~~ on documents, the contents of which they were supposed to have fully understood, or to make an 'X' sign with their own hand at the bottom of such a document. The thumbprint or 'X' sign committed them to the contents of the documents, whatever these may have been.

- 
1. 'Taxes' were also responsible for the riots in the North of Sierra Leone in 1955/6, when the Temne demanded the removal of their chiefs who they felt were <sup>n</sup>con<sub>λ</sub>iving with the 'government' in extorting money from them.

## 7.416 Politics

Very few terms relating to politics have been borrowed from E/K into Temne. Party politics ~~was~~ were introduced in Sierra Leone in the early fifties, the first general election taking place only in 1957, less than four years before independence.

KRIO	TEMNE
minísta Minister (Religious and political)	ù-minístà Minister (political)
prayminísta Prime Minister	ù-prayminístà (as for Krio)
vot Vote	=bót Vote
kanvás Canvass (at an election)	=kámzás (as for Krio)
ilékʃən Election	à-léksòn (as for Krio)
patí Party, political party	à-pàthí (as for Krio)

The words ù-minístà and ù-prayminístà entered the Temne language in the early fifties, ù-minístà having been known since 1951 when, for the first time, the British

colonial administrators created ministries which were held by Sierra Leoneans. In 1959, Sir Milton Margai became the first Prime Minister, the word ù-pràymínístà then also coming into the Temne language at that time.

During the military takeover in 1967, martial law was declared by Brigadier Lansana, and this term, together with that related to subsequent demands for return to civilian rule, added two new loanwords in Temne;

#### KRIO

#### TEMNE

maʃaló Martial law

à-màsàlâ (as for Krio)

hándova (E. Hand over) Return  
to civilian rule by  
the military

=hándóbá (as for Krio)

## 7.42 Military

The extension of British colonial rule to the Sierra Leone <sup>Protectorate</sup> started with a major military campaign (the Bai Bureh Hut Tax War), ending with the subjection of the Temne and entrenchment of British rule. Military might remained a major factor in sustaining this rule, with soldiers sent round the country at regular intervals as a display of force. Many Sierra Leoneans, including a number of Temne, were recruited by British officers into the army, some of them serving both in the First and Second World Wars. From this long association with the army, Temne has borrowed words relating to ranks, parade and uniform.

## 7.421 Officers

### KRIO

### TEMNE

ɔ́físa Officer (military  
or police)

káptin Captain

méjɔ Major

más (E. Mess) Officer's  
mess

ù-wòfísà (as for Krio)

ù-káptìn Captain (military)

ù-ményò Major

à-mâs (as for Krio)

~~in this (E. Mess) Officer's~~

~~mess~~



# KRIO

# TEMNE

bátin (E. Button) Officer's      à-bótìn (as for Krio)  
pip

The terms ù-káptìn and ù-mányò are comparatively recent in Temne, having become current in the language only in the last ten years when Sierra Leoneans began attaining such ranks in the army. The older term ù-kyápìn (see 7.4 ) though derived from the same ultimate source as ù-káptìn, is restricted to a Ship's captain.

## 7.422 Other Ranks

### KRIO

### TEMNE

kópul Corporal (Army or  
police)

ù-kópul (as for Krio)

sájin Sergeant (Army or  
police)

ù-sáyìn (as for Krio)

sajinméjò Sergeant Major

ù-sàyìnméyò (as for Krio)

sivíli (E. Civilian) Person  
not in army or police

ù-sìbíli (as for Krio)

sója Soldier

ù-sóyà (as for Krio)

During the colonial period, it was prestigious to be a member of the army or police, and soldiers or policemen often used the term ù-sìbìlì as an insult to non-members of these forces; this is however not the case today, as many people now described themselves as ù-sìbìlì without any sense of insult. This change of attitude towards the forces may partly be explained by their increasing interference in the politics since independence.

#### 7.423 General Duties, Barracks, Equipment

KRIO	TEMNE
fólin (E. Fall in) Stand in marching order	=fólin (as for Krio)
páred Parade, march, beat the retreat	=páred (as for Krio)
sálot Salute	=sálot (as for Krio)
barík (E. Barrack) Residential quarters for army or police	à-bárik (as for Krio)

- 
1. Temne soldiers took part in campaigns during the First and Second World Wars. Temne refer to these wars respectively as Ká-tim Ká-Kàmàró (lit. The Cameroon Fight), and Ká-tim Ká-Bòmà (lit. The Burma Fight) 246

KRIO	TEMNE
jokakí (E. Joe khaki)	à-yòkàkí Military vehicle
Soldier, military vehicle	
yunífòm Uniform	à-yúnífòm (as for Krio)

Soldiers were nicknamed as jòkàkí because of the khaki which they wore as a uniform, the term also being extended to the vehicles in which these soldiers travelled. Temne has borrowed the extended meaning from Krio.

#### 7.424 Arms and Armaments

KRIO	TEMNE
maʃínɡòn (E. Machine gun)	à-màsínkôn (as for Krio)
Large gun	
písul Pistol	à-písul (as for Krio)
kátríj Cartridge	à-kátrík (as for Krio)
okúm Oakum	è-wókám (as for Krio)
ʃut Shoot	=súth (as for Krio)

The Portuguese-derived term for Gun, à-pìnkâr, 9.44, is not being replaced by an English-derived term, even though à-pí-sà is now being replaced by à-màsínkân and è-thópè by è-wòkám. Though the earliest loanwords in Temne for guns and armaments were borrowed from Portuguese, the term for shooting is derived from English. A Portuguese-derived term may have existed in Temne for shooting but was not apparently in use by the middle of the nineteenth century, when Schlenker was compiling his dictionary.

#### 7.43 Education and Literacy

	KRIO	TEMNE
buk Book		à-búk (as for Krio)
pən Pen		kə-pên (as for Krio)
pénsul Pencil		kə-pénsul (as for Krio)
ink Ink		à-yînk Manufactured ink, as opposed to that used by the marabouts, <u>reúbâ</u> (see 3.4A-1 )

# KRIO

# TEMNE

skul School

à-skûl (as for Krio)

pískâp (Amer. English,  
Peace Corp) American  
Peace Corp teacher

ù-pískâp American Peace Corp  
teacher, slovenly  
unkempt person

skulbôy School boy

ù-skûlbôy (as for Krio)

tîca Teacher

ù-tîtà (as for Krio)

The association of slovenliness with the Peace Corps is due to the fact that the Peace Corps teachers have frequently dressed in dirty shoes and looked generally unkempt; this has contrasted with standards in Sierra Leone schools, where personal hygiene had<sup>always</sup> been stressed, and is a major reason for the unpopularity of the Peace Corps.

Newsreaders in the Sierra Leone Broadcasting Service often use Manding-derived terms, which they consider<sup>superior to</sup> indigenous Temne terms, when translating some *English* words, e.g, instead of à-bûk, à-skûl, ù-skûlbôy, or ù-tîtà they would say k-áfâ, k-àrànthé, ù-kàràndé and ù-kàrmókô respectively (see 3.4.4 | ). The great majority of Temne speakers however, use the Manding-derived items mostly to refer to the Koranic schools for the learning of Arabic.

Three verbal stems relating to examinations and study have also been borrowed under this category:

KRIO	TEMNE
fel Fail an examination	=fél (as for Krio)
pas Pass an examination	=pás (as for Krio)
sit (E.Sit) Take a written examination	=sít (as for Krio)
stódi Study, prepare for an examination	=sthódí (as for Krio)

#### 7.44 Religion

Despite the work of Christian missionaries among the Temne from the sixteenth century,<sup>1</sup> the impact of Christian terminology on the Temne language when

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1. Balthazar Barreira, a Jesuit, was already doing missionary work in Sierra Leone by 1605. Others had preceded him by the end of the 16th. century. Kup, op.cit. p.14.

compared to that of Islam has been very slight. There may be several explanations for this, one of them being the fact that by the time the Christian missionaries arrived, Islamic terms may have already been fully established in the Temne language. Early translations of Christian texts into Temne contain words such as à-rìyàná, Heaven, à-yánámà, Hell, ù-màlékà, Angel, and ù-nábì, Prophet, all these words being Arabic-derived and having been borrowed from Manding and/or Susu( see chapter 3). Another possible reason for the paucity of Christian terms in Temne is that while the Temne could use Islamic concepts to fit into their own traditional way of life, (see à-wálkà and k-áláwà, for example), this was not the case with Christian terms. Christianity was not as accom<sup>m</sup>odating as Islam was, with the Christian missionaries condemning especially the use of charms and amulets and traditional reverence for the ancestors. This total break with tradition was not demanded by the marabouts, whose flexibility in the practise of Islam made that religion more readily acceptable to the Temne.

There are also a number of cases where calques have been used instead of the word referring to the Christian concept being borrowed. These include,

à-kènt ké pánkínê (lit. The stick lying across) i.e. Cross  
à-rè á-lápsó (lit. The final day) i.e. Judgement day  
à-yiná mè-sèm (lit. Sacred spirit) i.e. Holy ghost

KRIO	TEMNE
báybul Bible	à-báybùl (as for Krio)
bişóp Bishop	ù-bísôp Senior church official
pastò Pastor	ù-pástthò Priest, missionary
còc Church	à-tíyôst (as for Krio)
míşòn Mission	à-mísòn Residential area for missionaries, school compound
krésmàs Christmas	à-krésmès (as for Krio)
baftáy Baptise	=bàfthâys (as for Krio)



The extension in meaning of the term à-mísòn in Temne to include school compound is due to the fact that the earliest schools were opened by missionaries whose residences were usually also located in the same compound as the school. à-krésmès, like the Islamic à-sáli, (see 3.4 |1 ), has been converted into an annual dance festival in which the whole community, regardless of religious affiliation, participates. =bafthâys is the ritual that most Temne objected to in Christianity, claiming that it was, more than anything else, responsible for 'westernising' their children and making them turn their backs on their traditional customs. Many Temne parents still refuse to send their children to school because of 'baptism' which they equate to the rituals of taking secret society oaths, like à-yámbo' (see 5.415).

## 7.45 Medical

KRIO	TEMNE
fíva (E. Fever) Malaria	à-fíbà (as for Krio)
yalafíva Yellow fever	à-yalàfíbà (as for Krio)
ospítul Hospital	à-wòskítèl (as for Krio)
dá'kta Doctor, medical practitioner	ù-rókthà (as for Krio)
dispánsa Dispenser	ù-dispénsà (as for Krio)
nôs Nurse, ward attendant	ù-nôs (as for Krio)
má'klet (? Inoculate + mark) Vaccinate, Inoculate	=máklét (as for Krio)
cuk (?E. Stick) Stab, inject (medically with syringe)	=túk Inject (medically with syringe)
bandéj Bandage	à-bándê't (as for Krio)
plásta (E. Plaster) Elastoplast	à-plást'hà (as for Krio)
lint Lint	à-línt (as for Krio)

Malaria was, from the time the Europeans first arrived in Sierra Leone, a very serious threat to their health, <sup>many</sup> ~~several~~ Europeans having died from it only a short while after arriving in Sierra Leone. In fact Sierra Leone became such a notoriously hazardous place because of deaths through malaria that ~~the~~ Europeans nicknamed it The White Man's Grave.<sup>1</sup>

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1. G. A. L. Banbury, The White Man's Grave, London, 1880.

## 7.46 Transport and Communication

### 7.461 Road Transport

	KRIO	TEMNE
lorí Lorry		à-lòrí (as for Krio)
bɔs Bus		à-bôs (as for Krio)
ka Car		à-kâ (as for Krio)
báysikul Bicycle		à-báskùl (as for Krio)
dráyva Driver		ù-drébà (as for Krio)
apréntís Apprentice, Driver's mate and helper		ù-yàpréntís (as for Krio)
pasénja Passenger		ù-pásénjà (as for Krio)

The most popular form of transport in Sierra Leone is by road in private lorries, à-lòrí.ù-yàpréntís sits at the back of the lorry with the passengers to help in loading or unloading luggage as well as collecting fares. The period of being an apprentice may last for several years, the long period of training being paid for by the apprentice working for his boss (cf. ù-kàrmókô, 3.44 | ).

### 7.462 Rail Transport

KRIO	TEMNE
tren Train	à-trên (as for Krio)
spéʃal (E. Special)	à-písàl (as for Krio)
Goods train	
stéʃən Railway station	à-tésən (as for Krio)
tikit Ticket	à-tíkit Railway ticket

### 7.463 Sea Travel

Most nautical terms borrowed into Temne entered the language in the pre-1800 period, i.e. before Krio in its present form had begun to influence Temne. Some of the words do not occur in Krio (e.g. à-bòsìnpâyp) and the occurrence of the phoneme /h/ in à-hùk and à-hánkà precludes their having entered Temne via Krio.

KRIO	TEMNE
kyapin Captain (Ship)	ù-kyapìn (as for Krio)
profo' (E. Provost, 'Master at arms' in a ship) Officer in charge of discipline in a ship	ù-porfo' Person appointed to enforce discipline at work

# KRIO

# TEMNE

manawá (E. Man o'war) Large  
ship, man of war

à-mànàwâ 1. Man of war, large  
ship  
2. Large banana.

Ship Ship

à-síp Ship, cargo boat

stima (E. Steamer) Steam  
ship

à-sthímà (as for Krio)

bot Boat

à-bôt Canoe

E. bosun's pipe

à-bòsìnpâyp Whistle

E. Hook

à-hûk Hook (for holding ship)

E. Anchor

à-hánkà Anchor

The use of the term à-mànàwâ in reference to a large banana is probably due to analogy, the man of war being larger than a normal ship, and à-mànàwâ, Banana, being also larger than a normal banana. The indigenous term à-bîl occurs for canoe together with à-bôt. These words relating to sea travel have been <sup>used</sup> ~~borrowed~~ into Temne for a considerable <sup>length</sup> of time, the Temne having been on the coast <sup>before</sup> since the arrival of the Europeans.

7.464 Post and Letter Writing

KRIO	TEMNE
postófis Post Office	à-pòtòwófîs (as for Krio)
stamp Stamp	à-sthâmp (as for Krio)
envilóp Enveloppe	à-mílôp (as for Krio)
lêta Letter	à-lêtà (as for Krio)
têlifón Telephone	à-têlifón (as for Krio)
wáyà Wire, telegram	à-wáyà Telegram

7.47 Building and Construction

7.471 Houses

KRIO	TEMNE
bambú os (E. Bamboo + house) House with bamboo leaves as thatch	à-bàmbúwôs (as for Krio)
bodós (E. Board + house) House built of timber	à-bòdôs (as for Krio)
fokóna (E. Four + corner) Square or rectangular house	à-fòkónà (as for Krio)

# KRIO

# TEMNE

panós (E. Pan + house) House with corrugated iron roof	à-pànôs (as for Krio)
tonós (E. Stone + house) House built of cement	à-thônôs (as for Krio)
rum Room	à-rûm Bedroom
pála (E. Palour) Sitting room	à-pála Large open section in a house used as general sleeping quarters
yad (E. Yard) Enclosed area belonging to the house- hold	à-yâd Latrine
latrí (E. Latrine) Lavatory	à-làtrî Lavatory, esp. public lavatory
dstibóks (E. Dirty +box) Dustbin, refuse hut	à-rètíbôks (as for Krio)

The commonest building among the Temne used to be the round mud house with grass roofing (Te. à-nápál ).

à-pànôs has now become the most popular type of house



having replaced both the 'bambuos' and the indigenous à-népál. à-fókónà has also become the standard style of building, round houses only surviving in villages and the 'older' sections of the towns.

The terms à-rûm and à-pálà are replacing the ~~replacing the~~ indigenous terms à-kónkô and à-kúnthé respectively. In polite conversation, the word à-làtrî is often avoided, à-yâd being used instead or the indigenous Temne euphemism, swùr rō-kāy, (lit. going out).

à-mùrù is the indigenous term for a place where rubbish is deposited, each household having its own in its backyard. Apart from being a rubbish heap, however, it also had the cultural significance of being a burial place for babies, the Temne believing that such babies were born again and were therefore not buried far away from the house.

#### 7.472 Building Materials

KRIO	TEMNE
bolit Bolt, Door fastener	à-bólît (as for Krio)
blôk Brick (of mud or cement)	à-blôk (as for Krio)

## KRIO

## TEMNE

frám (E. Frame) Piece  
of board

à-frém (as for Krio)

pant Paint

à-pênt Paint

simént Cement

kè-símânt (as for Krio)

incís (E. Hinges)

à-yíntís (as for Krio)

Moveable mechanism  
like that by which  
door is held to a  
sidepost.

get Gate

à-kêt (as for Krio)

babúwaya Barbed wire

à-bàbúwáyà (as for Krio)

The use of these materials in house building is fairly recent among the Temne, dating back only to the early decades of the present century, when the building of round mud houses began to give way to the new types of houses discussed in the <sup>preceding</sup> ~~preceding~~ section. Despite the influence of these new types of building, gates, à-kêt, and à-bàbúwáyà are not used extensively among the Temne, as the building of fences around houses is considered mè-pòthò (see 9.41) and therefore anti-social.

7.473 Road Construction

KRIO

TEMNE

ovasiya (E. Overseer) Superintendent ù-wòbàsiyà (as for Krio)  
of works, Works inspector

lébra Labourer, one engaged in ù-lébrà (as for Krio)  
in public works as a  
manual worker (esp. in  
road works)

foród (E. Four + road) Crossroads, à-fórôd Town centre,  
road junction road junction

trit Street, motor road à-trît (as for Krio)

layn (E. Line) Motor road à-lâyn (as for Krio)

kov Curve, bend on a motor road à-kôf (as for Krio)

kolbôt Culvert à-kólbôt (as for Krio)

ta Tar à-thâr Tar, Road with  
tarmac surface

The term ù-lébrà is not applied to carriers or houseboys. Even though the meaning has been extended now to include people employed by private industry, it was used, up to the time of independence, to include only those workmen employed by the then colonial administration, and

who were specifically under the Public Works Department (P.W.D. see 7.414). There was usually <sup>only</sup> ~~are~~ one major crossroad in most Temne towns, hence the word `à-fórôd acquired the meaning Town centre in Temne. `à-fórôd is often used as a general meeting-place for festivals as well as, in recent times, for political gatherings. The rolled /r/ in the Temne `à-thâr suggests direct entry from a British dialect rather than from Krio.

## 7. 48 Household Utensils

### 7.481 Sitting and Sleeping

	KRIO	TEMNE
benc Bench, long wooden seat, seat for more than one person		`à-bênt, Long wooden seat, small, low, round wooden stool
cia Chair		kê-tíyà (as for Krio)
stul Stool, used for sitting on		`à-sthûl (as for Krio)
tébul Table		`à-thébùl (as for Krio)
ayɛnbéd (E. Iron + bed) Metal- framed bed		kê-hàynbéd (as for Krio)
matrás Mattress		`à-mànthrâs (as for Krio)
píla Pillow		`à-pílà (as for Krio)

KRIO

TEMNE

tənt Tent, mosquito net

à-thênth (as for Krio)

The words à-bênt and à-thébùl have replaced their Portuguese-derived equivalents à-bámkò and à-mésà respectively (see 9.45). à-bênt is also replacing the indigenous term à-gbêth to refer to the low, round stool commonly used by Temne women as a seat by the fireside. kè-tíyà co-occurs with the indigenous item kè-wáy. These terms contrast with à-bênt in the sense that only one person at a time can sit on kè-tíyà or kè-wáy while several people may sit on à-bênt. kè-wáy is often associated with dignitaries such as chiefs or District Commissioners; in public gatherings, the chief or District Commissioner (as the only person in the assembly who sat on kè-tíyà or kè-wáy, while the rest of the people sat on à-bênt).

The indigenous term à-sóthrà has also been replaced by the English-derived à-pílà. à-thênth is one of the important household belongings that Europeans always have in Sierra Leone. Mosquito-borne malaria proved fatal to many early European visitors to Sierra Leone, which because of this earned the name <sup>white</sup> ~~XXXX~~ Mans Grave.<sup>1</sup>

1. See footnote # 1, p. 7.45

The mosquito net, à-thênth thus became a useful means of protection against the mosquito ~~bite~~.

# 7.482 Cooking and Eating

KRIO	TEMNE
fòks Fork (eating)	kê-fòks (as for Krio)
tispún Teaspoon	kê-thípùn (as for Krio)
tómbla Tumbler, glass drinking-cup	à-thámblà (as for Krio)
sósa Saucer	à-sósà (as for Krio)
plet Plate	à-plêt ( as for Krio)
tikítul (E. Tea + kettle) Kettle	à-thikítul (as for Krio)
saspán (E. Sauce + pan) Frying pot	à-sàspân (as for Krio)
békin(pot) Baking pot	à-békin Medium-sized pot used for cooking curries, <u>à-sûp</u> (see 7.4.016)
síspans Sixpence	à-síspans VVery small pot, used only rarely for cooking

## KRIO

## TEMNE

ṣílin Shilling

à-sílin Pot used to cook small  
meals

óvin Oven

à-wóbìn (as for Krio)

The terms à-sílin and à-síspèns, used as names for specific types of pots, reflect the costs of such pots when they were first sold to the Temne. à-síspèns is often used, because of its small size, by many Temne as a container for cowries, kè-fánt<sup>1</sup>, immersed in water, keeping this under their beds as protection against evil. kè-fôks, kè-thìpûn, and à-wóbìn are not common utensils in Temne households although they are known to them; Temne cooks and houseboys who served under English masters may have played a considerable part in popularising these words.

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1. cf. kè-yèké, 5.418, the cowry used by members of the Radigba society. Even<sup>though</sup> the cowries put in the à-síspèns are used for superstitious purposes, they are not referred to by the Mende-derived kè-yèké but by the indigenous Temne kè-fánt.

## 7.483 Lighting

### KRIO

### TEMNE

lamp Lamp

à-lâmp (as for Krio)

panlâmp (E. Pan + lamp) Lamp  
made out of milk tin, with wick  
protruding from the top

à-pânlâmp (as for Krio)

sedlâmp (E. Shade + lamp)  
Hurricane lantern

`à-sèlâmp (as for Krio)

wik Wick

`à-wîk (as for Krio)

kéndul Candle

k-é`ndul (as for Krio)

bolb Bulb

`à-bôlf Bulb, esp. for torch

layt Light (artificial)

à-lâyt (as for Krio)

macís Matches

m-átîs (as for Krio). The  
initial phoneme of this  
word has been treated  
in Temne as a prefix,  
hence <sup>sing.</sup> /k-átîs/ or /r-átîs/,  
(although this is not  
a regular development  
and varies in different  
idiolects).



à-pànlâmp is the most common method of lighting in Temne houses, electricity having been introduced only in very few towns, <sup>and</sup> the term à-lâyt being used to refer to light from electricity, candle or lamp.

#### 7.49 Trade, Money, Measurements

##### 7.491 Selling Places and Salesmen

KRIO	TEMNE
fam (E. Firm) Company store	à-fâm (as for Krio)
makít Market	à-mákít (as for Krio) cf. 5.47, <u>à-yòpòwâ</u>
ŷap Shop, store	à-syâp (as for Krio)
tébul (E. Table) Stall where petty traders display their goods	à-thébùl (as for Krio)
manéja General manager of a company store	ù-mánéyà (as for Krio)
ejént (E. Agent) Senior store supervisor	ù-ríyânt (as for Krio)
tréda Petty trader	ù-trédà (as for Krio)

à-fâm includes the European-owned company stores, ( e.g. United Africa Company, G.B.Ollivant, Paterson Zochonis, C.F.A.O. and S.C.O.A.<sup>1</sup>) while à-syâp refers to privately-owned stores run by ~~the~~ individual owners and their families. Today, the majority of these à-syâp are owned by the Lebanese in Sierra Leone, though a few indigenous people are now beginning to operate their own private à-syâp. The form of ownership remains the distinguishing factor between à-syâp and à-fâm, size being unimportant.

Ù-riyênt is found only in à-fâm since the other business concerns are private and do not employ management.

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1. C.F.A.O. (Compagnie française de l'Afrique occidental ) and S.C.O.A. (Société commerciale de l'ouest Afrique) are the two most common French-owned business stores among the Temne. C.F.A.O. , the more popular of the two, is commonly known by the Temne as fréns kómpìn , i.e. French Company, distinguishing it from the British - owned firms. S.C.O.A., though also a French firm, is not referred to as fréns kómpìn.

# 7.492 Business Transactions

KRIO	TEMNE
prəs Price, cost	à-prəs (as for Krio)
koks Coax, induce customer to buy	=kókəs (as for Krio)
ləs (E. Less ) Reduce price for a customer	=lés (as for Krio)
mítəp (E. Meet + up) Strike a bargain, reach an agreement on price	=mít'p (as for Krio)
lɔs (E. Loss) Suffer a loss in trade	=lós (as for Krio)
gen Gain, profit	=kén Make a profit à-kên Profit
lɔsis (E. Losses) Loss	à-lɔsis (as for Krio)
sətín (E. Shorten) Loose goods through theft or loss	=sətín Be reduced in quantity through theft or loss
ɔkʃín (E. Auction) Sell at reduced prices, make a sale	=wɔksín (as for Krio)

Apart from à-fâm where prices are fixed, trade is often carried on by bargaining between the trader and each individual customer. A customer might complain of the price being too high, asking for a reduction, =lɛ́s. This continues until an agreement is arrived at, =mító'p. The Portuguese-derived à-kána and the indigenous kə-thénkú still occur for Gain or Profit, although à-kên is now heard more often than the former two. à-prê's also has an indigenous equivalent, m-òlò. Schlenker records 'kisana ɲa kə-way yɛt' for an auction but this phrase appears to have fallen out of use in present-day Temne.

# 7.493 Money

## KRIO

## TEMNE

fáɗin Farthing

à-fáɗin (as for Krio)

wánkɔpɔ (E. One + copper)

à-wánkɔpɔ (as for Krio)

Half penny

tríkɔpɔ (E. Three + copper)

à-tríkɔpɔ (as for Krio)

One and a half pence

fókɔpɔ (E. Four + copper)

à-fókɔpɔ (as for Krio)

Two pence

~~mínkɔpɔ (E. Five + copper)~~

# KRIO

# TEMNE

sískɔpɔ (E. Six + copper)

Three pence

étkɔpɔ (E. Eight + copper)

Four pence

náynkɔpɔ (E. Nine + copper)

Four and a half pence

tánkɔpɔ (E. Ten + copper)

Five pence

páni Penny

trɔpɛns (E. Three + pence)

Three pence

síkspɛns Sixpence

náynpɛns Nine pence

šilin Shilling

pɔŋ Pound (sterling)

à-sískɔpɔ (as for Krio)

à-yétkɔpɔ (as for Krio)

à-náynkɔpɔ (as for Krio)

à-thánkɔpɔ (as for Krio)

à-páni (as for Krio)

à-trɔ , à-trɔpɛns (as for ~~Krio~~  
Krio)

à-síkspɛns (as for Krio)

à-náynpɛns (as for Krio)

à-silìn (as for Krio)

à-pôn (as for Krio) cf. à-paŋ

7.494

Even though the Sierra Leone currency was changed from Pounds, Shillings and Pence to Leones and Cents in August 1964, the terms à-pénì, à-sílìn, and à-pôn are still used to refer to the new currency as à-sênth, one cent, ten cents and two leones respectively. The other terms are however becoming less frequent.

#### 7.494 Weights and Measures

KRIO	TEMNE
skel Scale	à-skêl (as for Krio)
pay Pound (weight)	à-pây (as for Krio)
búʃɛl Bushel, 'sackful' as measurement for grain, fruit, palm- kernels, &c.	à-búsɛl (as for Krio)
kyan (E. Can) Four gallon can, used as measurement for half a bushel	à-kyân (as for Krio)
gálon Gallon	à-kálòn (as for Krio)
paynt (E. Pint) Bottle, about <u>half</u> the size of a pint	à-pâynt (as for Krio)

# KRIO

fátəm Fathom, six feet

pis Piece of cloth twelve  
yards long

yad Yard

teprúl (E. Tape + rule) Tape rə-tèprúl (as for Krio)  
measure for cloth

# TEMNE

à-fátəm Fathom, two yards.

à-pïs (as for Krio)

à-yâd (as for Krio)

Sometimes, in the  
absence of precise  
instruments, the length  
of an adult's arms  
stretched wide apart is  
taken as the equivalent  
of à-fátəm.

à-búsəl and à-kyân are the most common units for  
measuring produce. Another common object used for such  
measurement is the rectangular box, (<sup>Te</sup><sub>λ</sub> k-úma), estimated  
as being equivalent to one bushel. Scales and pound weights  
are used for heavier goods, especially when they involve  
goods weighing more than a few bushels. Liquids, like palm  
oil, are measured by gallons and/or pints. These measurements

are used particularly for wholesale trade. The Market women, for example, who are retail traders, use different measurements to sell their goods in much smaller units than bushels or gallons, often using the containers discussed in the next section as their <sup>units</sup> ~~units~~ of measurement.

#### 7.495 Containers as Units of Measurement

##### KRIO

##### TEMNE

panipán (E. Penny + pan) Small    à-pànpáni<sup>1</sup> (as for Krio)  
 tin bowl for measuring  
 produce valued at a  
 penny (in old Sierra  
 Leone currency) and two  
 cents (in new currency)

fokɔpɔpán (E. Four + copper + pan)    à-pànfók'pɔ<sup>1</sup> (as for Krio)  
 Tin bowl for measuring  
 goods valued at twopence

- 
1. The morphemic metatheses in the Temne forms of these words is due to fact that in Temne, the adjective follows the noun, while the reverse is true of Krio. Temne borrowed these two words as separate words <sup>from</sup> ~~in~~ Krio (with <sup>its</sup> ~~the~~ adj. + noun structure), then adapting them to its own structure of noun + adj.



KRIO

TEMNE

bayg Bag, sack for carrying  
grains, fruits and  
similar produce

à-bêk (as for Krio)

E. 'Demi john'

à-dìbiyôn Large bottle for  
carrying and measuring  
palm wine. This word,  
a direct entry from  
a British dialect,  
does not occur in Krio

keg Keg

à-kêk Barrel.

kitul (B. Kettle) Small bucket

à-kitul Small bucket used for  
measuring rice, as  
well as for drawing  
water from dug-out  
wells

à-pàn-píni <sup>and</sup> à-pànfókópò still retain these names  
despite the change of currency in Sierra Leone. The term  
à-kêk is now rare, the Portuguese-derived à-pípa (see 9.43)  
being more common.

## 7.496 Numbers

### KRIO

### TEMNE

míliyɔn Million

à-míliyɔn Used non-specifically  
to refer to a large  
number

dózin Dozen

à-rósin (as for Krio)

These are the only two numbers surviving as English-derived number terms. à-míliyɔn is not used often, the Manding à-wûl (see 3.462) being sometimes duplicated to mean a million. Together with k-émé, Hundred, and à-wûl, Thousand, both borrowed from Manding, à-míliyɔn and à-rósin are the only number terms borrowed into Temne ( i.e. apart from the units of money under 7.493). Schlenker lists à-tausin 'Thousand', in his dictionary but this term is now apparently obsolete.

## 7.497 Days of the Week, Time, Distance

7.4971 DAYS OF THE WEEK

### KRIO

### TEMNE

sóndé Sunday

à-sóndè (as for Krio)

móndé Monday

à-móndè "

cusdé Tuesday

à-túsdê "

wénsdé Wednesday

à-wénsdê "

tósdé Thursday

à-thósdê "

fráyde Friday

à-fráydè "

sátide Saturday

à-sátidê "

These English-derived terms have replaced the Arabic-derived ones for the days of the week (see 3. 461), ~~the~~ the Arabic-derived terms only occur, and then rarely, in religious contexts, e.g. à-rímà, Friday community prayers.  
7.4972 Time

	KRIO	TEMNE
taym Time, period		à-tây (as for Krio)
áwa Hour		à-háwà Unspecified period of time. cf. <u>à-wákáthì</u> 3.461.
minít Minute		à-mínít Short but unspecified period of time. cf. <u>à-síbri</u> , 3.461.
wik Week		à-wík Week
klók Clock		à-klók (as for Krio)
wac Wrist watch		à-wât (as for Krio)

The unspecified period referred to as à-háwà may last from one to four or five hours. Time among the Temne is more often expressed in terms of long (ɔ̄-wóní)

or short (ò-lémp) periods. Appointments are made according to the period of day without restriction to a specific hour, e.g.

pá ré sák (lit. it is getting bright) Dawn, may mean any time from five o'clock in the morning till seven thirty in the morning,

-báth Morning, extending from eight till about midday,

rà yáy, Afternoon, from about midday till about five o'clock<sup>ik</sup>

rét yáy (lit. when the sun is slanted), Late afternoon

rè fáy, Evening, i.e. seven thirty till about ten thirty,

táták, Late night, lasting from around ten thirty till dawn.

### 7. 4973 Distance

KRIO

TEMNE

mayl Mile

à-mây<sup>h</sup>l (as for Krio)

This is the only term referring to distance that has been borrowed from Krio into Temne. It probably became popular with the construction of roads ~~whose~~ ~~dist~~ which have distances marked in terms of mileage. All other dist<sup>h</sup>ances in Temne are expressed in terms of either being near (ò-fátî) or far (ò-bólî).

## 7. 4.40 Implements ,Artefacts

### KRIO

### TEMNE

bled Razor blade

à-blêd (as for Krio)

pən'ɛf (E. Pen + knife) Small  
pocket knife

à-pən'ɛf (as for Krio)

sizás Scissors

à-sísâs (as for Krio) cf.

à-tísèr, 9.45

fayl File

à-fâyl (as for Krio) cf.

the older Portuguese.

derived à-límà, 9.45

plen Plane ( carpenter's)

à-plên (as for Krio)

cisul Chisel

à-tísul (as for Krio)

rek Rake

à-rêk (as for Krio)

ʃɔvul Shovel, spade

à-sóbùl (as for Krio)

à-plên and à-tísul are used particularly by Temne carpenters, while à-rêk and à-sóbùl are found more commonly with labourers ( ù-lébrà, 7.473 ) engaged in road work. None of these implements are used by the Temne for farm work, the term for the most common implement for such work, à-bóká, Cutlass, being Mende-derived.

7.4. <sup>01</sup>~~01~~ Food and Drink

7.4. <sup>01</sup>01 Imported Foodstuff

KRIO

TEMNE

biskit' Biscuit

kà-biskî (as for Krio)

bred Bread

kà-brêd (as for Krio)

bóta Butter, margarine

à-bóthà (as for Krio)

fláwa Flour

à-fláwà (as for Krio)

kàfi' Coffee

k-òfî Coffee, breakfast

ti Tea

à-thî Tea, breakfast

It appears that the term kà-biskî was not yet known to the Temne at the time of Schlenker, who records kà-bó kà-bóthî (lit. sweet cake) for biscuit, a phrase not now used in Temne for a biscuit. Very rarely, one hears the Portuguese-derived kà-pòg, Bread, or more often the indigenous kà-bó, Cake, used instead of kà-brêd. k-òfî and à-thî may have acquired the sense of breakfast from cooks and houseboys who had to serve coffee or tea to their European employers first thing in the morning. Both terms, in the sense of breakfast, co-occur with the indigenous k-ònyè, Breakfast, first meal of the day.

012  
7.4.102 Drinks

KRIO

TEMNE

tə́rís (E. Tourist) Imported      mə-tó́rîs (as for Krio)  
 or manufactured  
 alcoholic drink

bíá Beer, ale

à-bíyà (as for Krio)

staót Stout, (Guinness)

à-stháwôth (as for Krio)

wiski Whisky

à-wùskî (as for Krio)

jin Gin

à-yîn (as for Krio)

The indigenous ~~temne~~ mə-bèr is the generic term in Temne for alcoholic drink, while mə-tó́rîs applies to imported alcoholic drink only and is not used for referring to palm wine, for example. In the ceremonial rite of pouring libation to the ancestors, ( =lòŋ á-bòyâ, see 3.4 ), à-wùskî and à-yîn are now replacing the local cheaper palm wine, the use of the more expensive mə-tó́rîs being considered more respectful and therefore more acceptable to the dead ancestors.

013  
7.4.103 Smoking

KRIO

TEMNE

tabáka Tobacco	à-thàbâ <sup>1</sup> (as for Krio)
sigarét Cigarette	à-sìkrât ( as for Krio)
pɛp Pipe	à-pâyp Pipe
layta Cigarette lighter	à-láyta (as for Krio)
snɔf Snuff	à-snôf (as for Krio)
smok Smoke	=smók (as for Krio)

Smoking has become a popular habit among the Temne, although women smokers are very few since it is frowned upon and considered 'unfeminine' for a woman to smoke. Tobacco is a symbol of respect when sent as a gift in traditional Temne society. Anyone going to see a chief or someone in authority ~~is~~ bound by tradition to take

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1. cf. à-yòpòwâ, where the final syllable in the Mende form has likewise been elided in the Temne form, with a corresponding tonal change (see 5.25 (1) ).



with him some gift as a token of respect and friendship. This gift, (Te. à-sòmrà), has to be presented to the chief before explaining the purpose of one's mission. The most common of such gifts is à-thàbâ for the chief himself, and a few ~~rows~~<sup>strings</sup> of beads for his wives. The 'buying' of 'Freetown' by the British from Naimbana with tobacco was probably regarded by the Temne as fulfillment of this custom and not, as is usually imagined<sup>1</sup>, payment to buy land.

- 
1. This custom is also known by the Temne as =sɔ̃ k-ɔ̃lá, Giving Kola, the kola nut being the common indigenous gift in such cases. The 'kolā' may consist, apart from à-thàbâ and beads, anything<sup>including</sup> clothes, swords, or gunpowder. This may be the custom that is referred to in <sup>historical</sup> ~~History~~ <sup>accounts</sup> ~~textbooks~~ as 'Cole', see Fyfe, History of Sierra Leone op. cit. p.8.

014  
 7.4. ~~824~~ Food Plants

KRIO

TEMNE

brɛdfrúʔ Breadfruit	à-bèrɛfùʔ (as for Krio)
koknát Coconut	kə-kòknát (as for Krio)
kokókasada (E. Cocoa + cassava) Cassava sp.	à-kònkókàsàdà (as for Krio)
goyavá Guava	à-kòyàbá (as for Krio)
kɔkúmba Cucumber	à-kɔkúmba (as for Krio)
píya (E. Pear) Avogado	à-píyà (as for Krio)
sawasáp (E. Sour sop) Anona muricata	à-sàwàsâp (as for Krio)
switsáp (E. Sweet sop) Anona squamosa	à-sùysâp (as for Krio)
caynis (E. Chinese) Small yam sp.	à-ténis (as for Krio)
yams Yam	à-yâms <sup>1</sup> (as for Krio)

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1. For other examples of Englished-derived plurals being borrowed into Krio and ultimately into Temne as singular forms, see à-lísís 7.492 and m-átís

The term à-yâm includes the cultivated yam, together with two types of wild yam mè-náy and mè-wòn. The indigenous term à-yàlá is also used, though rarely, to refer to ~~the~~ the yam sp. à-tìnís. Apart from these examples however, all the other plants listed in this section have no indigenous terms to refer to them.

015  
7.4.125 Meat, Cakes

KRIO

TEMNE

kabɛlɛ́ (E. Cow + belly) Cow's  
 entrails

k-àbɛ́lɛ́ (as for Krio)

rosfɔ́l (E. Roast + fowl)  
 Roasted chicken

à-rɔ́sfɔ́l (as for Krio)

rosbíf Roasted meat

à-rɔ́sbíf (as for Krio)

kasadabré́ (E. Cassava +  
 bread) Cake baked  
 from cassava flour

kə-kàsàdàbrếd (as for Krio)

panké́k Pancake

kə-pànkếk (as for Krio)

rɛsbré́d Cake made from rice  
 flour

kə-rɛsbrếd (as for Krio)

k-àbèlɛ́ and pork, especially 'hog's feet' K. ɔ̀gfút are popular Krio dishes; the term ɔ̀gfút has however not been borrowed into Temne because of the influence of Islam which forbids the eating of pork.

016  
7.4.106 Dishes and their Preparation

KRIO	TEMNE
fray Fry, cook in oil	=frây Cook in oil
	à-frây Stew cooked in oil
sup (E. Soup) Curry (with or without leaves)	à-sûp Curry cooked without leaves
fraysûp Stew cooked in oil	à-frâysûp (as for Krio)
pɛpɛsûp 'Pepper soup', very hot stew	à-pɛpɛsûp (as for Krio)
wanpôt (E. One + pot) Dish with both curry and rice cooked at once in the same pot	à-wànpôt (as for Krio)
jólófrɛs 'Jollof rice', oily dish of rice, chicken and meat	à-yólófrês (as for Krio)

017  
7.4.107 Hotel, Restaurant

KRIO

TEMNE

kukrí (E. Cookery) Place where à-kùkří (as for Krio)  
food, esp. rice, is <sup>sold</sup> ~~slod~~

otél Hotel, place to eat and/or à-wòtél (as for Krio)  
sleep for a fee

Although there are now several à-kùkří in Temne land, à-wòtél is not common since people can usually find places to sleep without having to pay a fee. It is considered à-hákè, Sin, (see 3.4212) not to give a stranger free lodging, it being believed that a house with many strangers is a blessed house.

02  
7.4. ~~11~~ Dress and Fashion

021  
7.4. ~~11~~ Male Dress

KRIO

TEMNE

ʃɔt Shirt

à-sôt Shirt (with short sleeves)

buʃɔt Bush shirt, worn  
especially by  
Europeans on trek

à-búsôt (as for Krio)

kɔtslív (E. Cut sleeve)

à-kòtslîf (as for Krio)

Sleeveless underwear

ʃɔtslív (E. Short sleeve)

à-sòtslîf (as for Krio)

Short-sleeved shirt

kot Coat

k-ôt (as for Krio)

gánzin (E. Guernsey) Thick  
knitted jersey

à-kánsìn (as for Krio)

panks (E. Pants) Trousers

ɛ-pâns (as for Krio)

nɛktáy Necktie

à-nèktây (as for Krio)

téla Tailor

ù-théla Tailor specialising in  
sewing 'western' style  
clothes like à-sôt, ɛ-pânk

ɔndavíst Under garment

à-wàndawîs (as for Krio)

Krio also uses the term trásís for both trousers and shorts. Even though Temne has borrowed è-pâns, the indigenous terms y-ànkra, and è-móntí are more frequently used for trousers and shorts respectively. Wearing of coats and ties is considered mà-pòthò, 9.41, and therefore sometimes ridiculed. They are seen as the symbols of accepting total 'westernisation', the Temne often referring to a necktie derisively as à-kàthà ró-bòló (lit. Woman's sanitary loin cloth wrapped round the neck).

4.022  
7.4222 Female Dress

KRIO

TEMNE

kakbòbí (E. cock + boob? )

à-kakbòbí (as for Krio)

Brassiere

Simí (E. Chemise) Woman's  
 undergarment

à-simí ( as for Krio)

dròz (E. Drawers) Underpants è-dròs (as for Krio)

pètikót Petticoat

à-pètí ,à-pètikôt, Velvet

skirt worn by young ~~gi~~  
 girls especially on the  
 day they come out of  
 the 'society bush'.

Compared to the terms relating to male dress, only very few terms relating to women's dress have been borrowed into Temne from E/K. The reason may be that while men accepted or took new kinds of dress like ɛ-pánks, the dress of Temne women has largely been confined to the traditional k-òthá, wrapped from the waist down to the ankles. The words that have been borrowed for women's dress, apart from ornaments and footwear, refer largely to underwear. à-pètí has replaced ɛ-gbágba, small aprons sewn together and tied around the waist, as the ceremonial dress worn by girls on being officially brought out of the Bundu bush.

023  
7.4.113 Ornaments and Cosmetics

Krio	TEMNE
bangós Bangles, wrist <del>golbíd</del> <del>golbíd</del>	kè-bánkôs (as for Krio)
golbíd Gold coloured beads hung round neck	mè-kòlbíd (as for Krio)
cen Chain, necklace	kè-tén Metal necklace cf. k-òrénthà 9.45.
iyapín Hair pin	à-yàpín (as for Krio)
golsmít Goldsmith	ù-kòlsímâth (as for Krio)



Apart from kè-tên, there are two other types of necklaces, namely k-éréj, literally Grass, made of grass and small seeds, and mè-ká, Beads, (lit. Little things) made from imported beads. These three types of necklaces may be regarded as three separate stages in the 'history' of necklace wearing among the Temne, starting with the pre-European period when k-éréj was used. This was followed by mè-ká, probably starting with the arrival of the Portuguese in the fifteenth century, and finally with the arrival of the English, the metal chain, kè-tên came into use. These divisions coincide with those postulated for the three stages of the development of bridge building among the Temne (see à-kádà, 9.47).

#### 7.4.024 Footwear and Headgear

KRIO	TEMNE
susmáka Shoe repairer, cobbler	ù-sùsmékà (as for Krio)
but Boot, rain boots	ě-bût Rain boots
krep Crepe sole shoes	ě -krêp (as for Krio)
plastik Plastic	ě-plástthîk Sandals made of plastic rubber

# KRIO

tanbáy (E. stand by) Be  
prepared, be on the  
alert

sòks Socks

bolát (E. Bowler hat) Helmet  
felt Felt hat

kolkyáp (E. Cold + cap)  
Knitted woollen cap

# TEMNE

è-thànbây Loose sandals, so  
called because of the  
speed with which they  
can be put on

è-sòks Socks, stockings

kè-bòlât (as for Krio)  
kè-félît (as for Krio)

kè-kòlkyâp (as for Krio)

The sun-helmet formed part of the uniform of District Commissioners and other administrative officials up to the time of independence in 1961, it being believed that the helmet provided protection from the sun's heat. It was subsequently taken over by African District Officers, sanitary inspectors and medical workers, as well as by other Temne who wore it as a status symbol.

#### 7.4.025 Fabrics

KRIO	TEMNE
flanét (E. Flannelette) Cotton fabric resembling flannel	à-flànêt (as for Krio)
<del>gabadin</del> gabadin Gaberdine	à-kàbàdín (as for Krio)
kakí Khaki	k-àkí Khaki
poplín Poplin	à-pòplîn Poplin
silk Silk	à-sélâk Silk
naylón Nylon	à-nàylón Nylon
satin Satin	à-sátin Satin
cek Check-patterned material	à-têk (as for Krio)
wúlin Woollen material	à-wúlin (as for Krio)
tapól (E. Tarpaulin) Tarpaulin	à-thàràpól Tarpaulin
blankit Blanket	à-blànkît, à-blànkèt Blanket
pisís (E. Pieces) Rag, piece of cloth	à-písís (as for Krio)

k-àkí, à-pòplín and à-sátin are worn frequently while à-kabàdín, à-wúlín and à-sálák all have a certain 'snob' appeal, being held in high esteem and worn only on special occasions. Silk is particularly associated with beauty, and a beautiful person is sometimes described as ò'-gbínthá mó à-sálák (lit. He/She shines like silk.)

#### 7.4.026 Styles, Fashions and General

KRIO

TEMNE

wankáyn (E. One kind) Identical à-wànkâyn (as for Krio)  
dresses

kotlís (E. Coatless) Wear shirt =kótlís (as for Krio)  
with end tucked under  
trousers

blóf (E. Bluff) Show off, swagger =blóf (as for Krio)

swank Swank, swagger =súwánk (as for Krio)

à-wànkâyn differs from à-yàsèbí ( 8.4 2 ) in that though both of them <sup>imply</sup> ~~imply~~ more than two or more people wearing <sup>identical</sup> ~~identical~~ clothes, à-wànkâyn <sup>need</sup> ~~need~~ not be for any special festive celebration.

#### 7.4.03 Social Relationships

##### KRIO

##### TEMNE

bəl (E. Bell) Flatter,  
esp. in seducing girls

=bél (as for Krio)

yan (E. Yarn) Chat up  
a girl

=yán (as for Krio)

mared' (E. Married) Wedding, à-mared' Wedding in Church or  
dance festivities in Mosque  
celebration of wedding =mared' Marry in Church or

Mosque

kənakəná (E. Corner corner)  
Secret lover or girl-  
friend

ù-kənakəná (as for Krio)

Traditional marriage among the Temne , =nántâ ,  
is often a private ceremony, involving only a few members  
of the bridegroom's family ( ù-wòs ) and the bride's  
( ù-rání ) family. A linguistic distinction is made in  
Temne between =nántâ, Marry, used only of men, and =bálâ ,  
Marry, used only of women. =nántâ and =bálâ are never referred  
to as =mared', which is reserved for the actual Christian  
or Moslem ceremony of marriage. ù-kənakəná is used more  
frequently by unmarried men and boys who have a girl friend  
that is known publicly, while at the same time having another  
'secret' affair 'in the corner'.

#### 7.4.04 Behavioural Terms and Personal Attributes

##### 7.4.041 Social Behaviour

###### KRIO

###### TEMNE

biya (E. Bear) Have patience, =biyá (as for Krio)  
endure

tray Try, persevere =trây (as for Krio)

tanbây (E. Stand by) Be prepared, =thànbây (as for Krio)  
ready, alert (for action)

rìspîk Respect =rìspîk (as for Krio)

Each of these terms has an indigenous equivalent;  
=biyá : =mùyû, =rèspîk : =yíkîs, =trây : =mémâr . Although  
the indigenous =bínínî has a similar meaning to =thànbây,  
the latter is not used in the case of preparation for a  
traditional ceremony. To be prepared to take up an  
appointment, or to get ready for something to happen  
would be =thànbây, whereas to get ready to take part  
in a traditional dance, or to prepare for circumcision,  
for example, would be =bínínî.

7.4.042 Anti-social Behaviour (i.e. disapproved of)

KRIO

TEMNE

- bambót (E. Bum + boat) =bàmbôt (as for Krio)  
Prostitute oneself
- bótín (E. Button) Hold =bótín (as for Krio)  
tight by the collar
- skóla (<sup>Gen</sup> Divergence between =skólá ( as for Krio)  
E. Scold and collar)  
Hold by the collar
- intafiya Interfere, meddle =yántáfiyá (as for Krio)  
<sup>in</sup>  
someone else's  
affairs
- fónfúl (E. Form + fool) Play =fónfûl (as for Krio)  
the fool, not be serious
- tanót (E. Stand + out) Rebel, =thánót (as for Krio)  
be stubborn, challenge  
authority
- disgrés Disgrace, shame publicly =diskrêś (as for Krio)

The use of the word =bàmbôt is thought to have originated from the practice of sailors sending boats





The term 'civilise' =sibl̩s is associated with giving up one's 'traditional ways' for certain actions considered to<sup>be</sup> more desirable, such actions being mostly western. To be civilised involves wearing shoes, and to eat with a fork and a knife, for example. The term is now used in a very wide sense, with the Temne terming most actions ~~with~~ which they consider as not being modern as 'uncivilised'. This term is also frequently used as an insult by Sierra Leoneans to people whom they consider as being 'beyond the pale', such people being again described as 'uncivilised'. On the other hand, to 'civilise' someone is considered ~~mean as this~~<sup>to</sup> involves deceiving, tricking or 'making a fool of' such<sup>a</sup> person. Most Temne get offended if they think someone has tried to 'civilise' them.

<sup>05</sup>  
7.4.14 Games and Recreation

<sup>051</sup>  
7.4.141 Football

KRIO

TEMNE

bak (E. Back) Defence  
player

ù-bâk (as for Krio)

golá Goalkeeper

ù-kòlá (as for Krio)

ból Ball

à-ból (as for Krio)

fil Field

à-fîl (as for Krio)

gol 1. Goal (score)  
2. Goal (post)

à-kôl (as for Krio)

gem Game

à-kêm Football match

kóna Corner kick

à-kónà (as for Krio)

óva Out of play,  
dead ball

à-wóbà (as for Krio)

tos Toss a coin at start  
a match

=tós (as for Krio)

pik Pick, select a team

=pík (as for Krio)

sko Score a goal

=skó (as for Krio)

kad (E. Scared ?) Dribble,  
beat opponent by body  
feint.

=kad (as for Krio)

KRIO	TEMNE
mit (E.Meet) Tackle an opponent	=mít (as for Krio)
pas Pass a ball	=pás (as for Krio)

Football is the most popular game introduced by the British in Sierra Leone, accounting for nearly fifteen of some twenty English-derived loanwords relating to games that have been noted in Temne.

#### 7.4.052 Cricket and Tennis

KRIO	TEMNE
bat Cricket bat (imported or made of coconut leaf stalk), tennis racket	`a-bât (as for Krio)
bol (Convergence between E. Ball and bowl) Pitch a ball for a batsman, bowl	=ból (as for Krio)
ténis Tennis ball, Lawn tennis	`a-ténís (as for Krio)

The word for the game of Lawn Tennis has ~~not~~ been borrowed into Temne even though no other word

relating to that game occurs in Temne. Because footballs are expensive, boys use tennis balls for playing football, this being the reason for the extensive use of the word à-ténis in Temne. Cricket has been adapted to local conditions, with the mid-stalk of coconut leaves being used as bats, and three reeds put together as a tripod ~~and~~ serving as a wicket. The ball used in <sup>that</sup> game, known in Krio as koknatbat (i.e. Coconut bat), is again the tennis ball.

#### 7.4.06 Music

KRIO	TEMNE
ban (E. Band) Large <sup>bass-</sup> drum	à-bân (as for Krio)
flut Flute	kà-flût (as for Krio)
gramafón Gramophone	k-àrmáfó Gramophone

Apart from à-bân, no <sup>imported</sup> musical instrument ~~in this list~~ is used in traditional dances.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### 8. OKU (YORUBA) LOANWORDS

#### 8.1 Introduction

Thirty four of some fourty two words of Yoruba origin, borrowed into Temne via Krio, are terms specifically associated with the Ojeh, men's masquerading society, and its junior counterpart, Adikali (à -dìkálí). Membership of these societies among the Temne is open to any male who indicates a desire to join, there being no power of conscription as in the Poro. Teenagers are voluntarily initiated into the Adikali, and then into the Ojeh when they are adults.

8.12 The introduction of both the Ojeh and Adikali is traditionally credited to the Oku Krio, the descendants of the Liberated Africans of predominantly Yoruba origin. Settling among the Temne as traders especially after the declaration of the Protectorate in 1898, the Oku introduced these societies, with themselves as society heads (ù-wàgbá)<sup>1</sup>. Such Oku 'agbas' became influential in the areas where the Ojeh became popular, being often credited with supernatural powers, even though, unlike the Manding and Susu, they never practised divination and magic.

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1. In Makeni, the writer's hometown, an Oku, Pa Abu George was head of the Ojeh for several years during the 1940's and early 1950's, finally returning to Nigeria, his homeland, in 1954.

9.13 Despite the introduction of the Ojeh among the Temne, this society does not exist in Mendeland, two possible factors being responsible for this:

- 1) The Mende uprising of 1898 which frightened away the Krio from Mendeland,
- 2) The strong influence of both Poro and the Wunde in the south of Sierra Leone.

This second reason has also determined the area of influence of the Ojeh among the Temne. The Poro is usually opposed to the existence of any other male secret society in its area of influence, and thus the influence of the Ojeh is greatest in Kambia and North Port Loko Districts where there is no Poro; in Bombali, the Ojeh influence is minimal, while in Tonkolili, the most strongly Poro-influenced District, the Ojeh is non-existent. The Ojeh and Adikali, where they exist in Poro or Ragbenle chiefdoms, have neither political nor religious significance; there is therefore no rivalry between the Ojeh/Adikali and the Poro or Ragbenle as there is between the Poro and Ragbenle. The Ojeh has acquired the importance in Kambia and Port Loko Districts which the Poro has in Bombali and Tonkolili. Even though a chief in Port Loko or Kambia does not traditionally have to be a member of the Ojeh, it has become expedient for him and his sub-chiefs to be members, since as in the Poro and the Ragbenle in Bombali and Tonkolili, the Ojeh headquarters may be used as a meeting place for deciding important matters affecting the whole chiefdom.

9.14 The Ojeh and Adikali societies employ the same Yoruba-derived words as secret terminology, even though their forms of initiation are referred to by different words( =máwó in Ojeh and =yará in Adikali, see §.415). Membership of the Ojeh entitles one to membership of the Adikali even if one was not initiated into Adikali before; this does not apply in the reverse however. A third type of masquerader, also introduced by the Oku, is the á-kàkádébùl (lit. 'faeces masquerader', ex. K. kàká Faeces + débùl 'devil', masquerader ), not associated with a masquerading society, but associated with children of around 8-13 years, as suggested also by the name á-kàkádébùl. There is thus a three stage hierarchy, demarcated by age, in the society and non-society masqueraders introduced to the Temne by the Oku:

- 1) Ojeh, 18 years and above ( Membership by secret initiation =máwó)
- 2) Adikali, 14-18 years, (Membership by secret initiation =yará)
- 3) Kàkádébùl, children under 14 (no initiation).

## §.2 Phonology (as for Krio)

See 7.2

## §.3 Semantic Changes

§.31 Several Oku terms have been narrowed in meaning when borrowed into Temne, the reason being that though these terms may have general applications in the source language, they are used only in the restricted context of the Ojeh and Adikali societies, e.g.

ù-wàgbá see §.412

ù-wokó " "

=wòlé §.416

## 8.4 Semantic Categories

### 8.41 Secret Societies

#### 8.411 Society Names

OKU

TEMNE

Ójé ( SY. ójé Title in  
family where 'Ogún<sup>1</sup>  
is worshipped) Male  
secret society

'a-wà'yé (as for Oku)

adíkálí (A. al-qad Judge)  
The Adikali society

'a-díkálî (as for Oku)

The term for the Adikali society, though of ultimate Arabic origin, may have been adopted originally by the predominantly Muslim Oku to mean chief. The Adikali society occupies a position similar to the boys' circumcision society, Rabay, among the Temne, the name of that society also being derived from a term meaning Chief, Te. ù-bà'y.

- 
1. 'Ogun is a national God of the Yoruba: he is god of iron and of war, and is therefore, the God of hunters and soldiers; no hunter goes out hunting without first sacrificing to Ogun.



It is also significant that the title of the Paramount chief of Port Loko, an area where Adikali is very popular, is u-dikali.

There is no common term referring to both the Ojeh and Adikali despite their being complementary societies with a similar origin. The influence and popularity of these societies has dwindled considerably since the early fifties as a result of the migration to the Kono diamond-mining area of large numbers of young men who were responsible for their organisation.

## 8.412 Officials and Members

OKU	TEMNE
`agbá (SY. `agbà) Senior society member	ù-wàgbá Head of the Ojeh or Adikali society.
`akpátá (SY. `akpàta)	ù-gbátá Powerful member of the Ojeh.
1. Rock	
2. Strong formidable person.	
gbógbó Member of the Ojeh or Adikali (SY. gbógbó, Whole, all).	ù-gbógbó Ordinary member of Ojeh or Adikali.
`igbèrì Non-member of the Ojeh or Adikali (SY. `igbèrì One not initiated in religious society)	ù-gbèrì A non-member of the Ojeh or Adikali.
`atókú (SY. atókú) Companion and interpreter for the Ojeh masquerader.	ù-tókú Companion and interpreter for the Ojeh masquerader.
`awókó (SY. `awòko) 1. Talkative person; 2. Person who converses with the Ojeh masquerader.	ù-wókó Interpreter for the Ojeh masquerader.

A 'devil' or masquerader does <sup>not</sup> go around unaccompanied; masqueraders are supposed to be from 'another' world, i.e. the world of spirits, and therefore do not share a common language with the rest of the people. They thus need an interpreter, ù-wókó in the case of Ojeh (cf. ù-yèrí for Poro), or a companion, ù-tókú in both the Ojeh and Adikali (cf. Bundu and Rabay ù-sémá).

The term ù-gbèrì, Non-member of the Ojeh or Adikali, ~~is~~ is restricted to these two societies, the Mende-derived ù-gbòrkà being used for non-members of the Bundu, Rabay, and Poro, (but not for the Ojeh and Adikali). The following chart shows the different terms used by the various ~~societies~~ societies for members, non-members, interpreters, and companions.

	<u>Poro</u>	<u>Radigba</u>	<u>Rabay</u>	<u>Bundu</u>	<u>Ojeh/Adikal</u>
Members	ù-sókó	ù-sókó	ù-séma	ù-séma	ù-gbógbó
Interpreter	ù-yèrí	---	---	---	ù-wokó
Companion	---	---	ù-séma	ù-séma	ù-tóku
Non-member	ù - g b o r k a - - - →				ù-gbèrì

The Poro 'devil' does have one particular companion since he is never seen by non-members, only the shrill high-putched voice being heard.

## 8.413 Masqueraders

OKU

TEMNE

agúda Adikali masquerader    `a-kúdá (as for Oku)

This term is probably derived from the SY agúda, a Catholic, Portuguese African returned from Brazil. Such people were considered trend-setters and were often gaily dressed, hence the application of the term to this Adikali masquerader.

gbádogbádo (SY gbádu-gbádu    `a-gbádógbádó (as for Oku)

Fighter) Aggressive

Ojeh masquerader

kékéré (SY. kékeré Tiny)	à-kékéré Tiny short-statured
Short-statured	Adikali masquerader.

# Adikali masquerader

`alàrùgbé (SY. alàrùgè Sleepy      à-làròbí Ojeh masquerader (as  
head, person who talks                      for Krio)

drowsily) Ojeh 'devil'

dressed in bright velvet

decorated with beads and

mirrors, talks in soft

drowsy manner.

tālābī (?SY. tālābī Name  
given to a female with  
ruptured membrane) An  
Adikali masquerader,  
aggressive, always in  
red and carrying horns  
on his head.

à-tálábí Adikalí masquerader  
(as for Krio)

égu (SY. egun Spirit, Ancestor)      ǎ-yékú Ojeh masquerader.  
Generic term for Ojeh  
masquerader.

àrìyògbó (SY. ? ) Witch-

hunting Ojeh masquerader      kà-yǒgbó Witch-hunting Ojeh  
masquerader.

okosiã (SY. ?) Comic Ojeh  
masquerader

-a-wókósiyà Comic Ojeh  
masquerader.

à-là-ròbí is the only Ojeh masquerader with a soft quiet voice, all the others deep distorted gaggling sounds concealing their identities from the non-members who may

be listening. à-gbàdógbàdó of the Ojeh, like à-tàlàbí of the Adikali, is not present at the performance where other masqueraders of the society are dancing, both always being the last to perform their own dances after the others have retired. These two masqueraders are considered so aggressive that they are usually restrained from going wild by members of the Ojeh or Adikali confining their movements within a square of sticks, and often having to calm them down by pouring a mixture of leaves and water (Te. mà-fà-y = K. sáwé ex. Me. sáwéi, Medicine) over their heads. While all the other Ojeh and Adikali masqueraders normally have only one companion, u-t ku, à-gbàdógbàdó and à-tàlàbí need at least four each.

ƙà-yògbó is the most feared of all the Ojeh masqueraders especially in Port Loko and Kambia where the authority of Ojeh is strongest. In Bombali and Tonkolili, a witch is absolved in the Ragbenle society, while ƙà-yògbó does this in Port Loko and Kambia.

Like the Ojeh comedian à-wòkósiyà, the Adikali ù-wólpápà (K. ól 'Old' + pápà) is a comedian masquerader with a carved wooden face of an old man. In contrast to à-gbàdógbàdó and à-tàlàbí, both à-wòkósiyà and ù-wólpápà are friendly masqueraders who go around town during society performances entertaining children and generally causing laughter, always avoiding crossing paths with their aggressive counterparts à-gbàdógbàdó and à-tàlàbí.

# 8 .414 .Dances

## OKU

atéwó Instruction given  
to Ojehor Adikali  
members to clap  
hands in rhythm  
as masqueraders dance.  
(SY. kpátéwó Applause)

gbádà Stop, wait; instruction  
to Ojeh or Adikali  
masquerader. (SY. kpadà  
To come back).

súmámí Come, as instruction  
to Ojeh or Adikali  
masquerader. (SY. sù  
ma mi Come near to me)

sìré 1. Walk in a swaying  
manner, 2. Dance (in  
Ojeh or Adikali)  
(SY. sìre To play)

tángbá Kick, esp. of Ojeh and  
Adikali masqueraders  
who may do this to  
members who have  
broken a society rule.  
(SY. takpa Kick)

ìgbèrìbàtá Dance at end of  
Ojeh performance, drummed  
specifically for non-  
members to join in.

bàtá Small flat drum used by  
the Ojeh and Adikali.  
(SY. bàtá Drum)

## TEMNE

= ~~atéwó~~ (as for Krio)

=gbádà (as for Krio)

=súmámí (as for Krio)

=sìré Dance (in Ojeh or Adikali)

=tángbá (as for Krio)

à-gbèrìbàtá (as for Krio)

à-bàtá (as for Krio)

The dances of the Ojeh and Adikali are primarily for the masqueraders of these societies, with the members doing the drumming and singing Yoruba songs. Non-members do not take part though they may occasionally be asked to clap in rhythm as the masqueraders dance, =àtẹwó. At the end of the evening's performance, however, when all the masqueraders have retired, a special rhythm, à-gbèrìbàtá is played to the accompaniment of which everyone, members and non-members alike, may dance.

### §.415 Initiation

OKU

~~TEMNE~~

áwó Food eaten as à-yáwó<sup>1</sup> Food eaten as oath in Ojeh  
initiation. (SY. awo and Adikali  
Secret)

máwó Initiate into Ojeh. =máwó (as for Krio)  
(SY. mawo mɔ + awo  
lit. Know the secret)

jára Initiate into Adikali =yára<sup>2</sup> (as for Krio)  
(SY. ja "to separate from"  
+ ara "body")

1. cf. Bundu è-yómbó and Ragbenle kè-lôk. These foods are thought to cause eventual death if one exposes the societies' secrets; see §.415

2. One is supposed to shed one's old body on initiation, it being considered a form of rebirth; see p.173, fn. 1



## §.416 Meeting Places

OKU	TEMNE
ìgbàlè Adikali members' meeting-house, restricted members only. (SY. ìgbàlè Society meeting centre)	à-ìgbàlè (as for Krio)
ìgbàdú Ojeh members' meeting-house (SY. ìgbàdũ)	à-ìgbàdú (as for Krio)
wàlé Enter society meeting-house (of Ojeh and Adikali) (SY. wàlé Enter a house)	=wàlé (as for Krio)

Ojeh and Adikali are the only secret societies among the Temne that have their secret meeting-places in houses rather than in a 'bush' removed from the town. cf. Bundu kà -yàrmà 5.4, Poro à-ìgbàniká 5.4, and Ragbenle à-thùrmá.

## §.417 Skin Powders

OKU	TEMNE
àlè Powdered herb used as skin irritant thrown secretly at non-members who offend members of the Ojeh or Adikali. (SY. àlè Herbal aphrodisiac).	à-yàlè (as for Krio)
wèrèkpè Itching powder used by Ojeh and Adikali against non-members. (SY. wèrèkpè)	à-yèrègbè (as for Krio)

A non-member offending against the laws of Poro, Bundu or Ragbenle may either be initiated into the relevant society, or he may live in fear of being killed by the magical powers of the society. The Ojeh and Adikali, lacking these powers, can only rely on the fear their skin-powders, à-yalè and à-yèrègbè usually thrown secretly at the unsuspecting victim.

#### §.418 Society Dress

OKU

TEMNE

àsó Costume for Ojeh or      è-yàsó (as for Krio)

Adikali masquerader.

(SY. `asó Cloth, clothing)

áfo Exposed! shouted at Ojeh      áfo' (as for Krio)

or Adikali masquerader  
when part of his

body is exposed. (SY. `afáró  
Exposed).

fákú Wear Ojeh or Adikali      =fákú, =fá (as for Krio)  
costume. (SY. fákú Wear  
costume).

#### §.42 Dress General

OKU

TEMNE

àsòbí Identical dress

è-yàsòbí (as for Krio)

(esp. among women) worn  
for a wedding, dance, or  
other festivity. (SY. `asó  
+ èbí Family dress)

## OKU

## TEMNE

sòkótò Large-bottomed baggy  
trousers, worn esp. by  
Nigerians. (SY. sòkótò)

ḙ-sòkàthò (as for Krio)

tìrò Antimony used as eye  
shadow (SY. tíroo Galena  
used as cosmetic).

à-tìrô (as for Krio)

Another Krio-derived term, à-wànkâyn, (E 'one kind')  
Identical dress, differs from ḙ-yàsèbí in  
that it is not necessarily worn for a festivity; two  
friends, male or female, may wear à-wànkâyn at any time  
as a simple sign of friendship. ḙ-yàsèbí, however,  
is always worn for a celebration at which there is  
music, singing and dancing. In certain cases, there may  
be more than one set of ḙ-yàsèbí for a single  
celebration. At weddings, for example, there may be as  
many as four sets, the families of the bride and bridegroom  
each sewing separate ḙ-yàsèbí, (and groups of friends  
doing the same). ḙ-yàsèbí has become a symbol of expressing  
friendship and solidarity, and refusing to participate  
could be interpreted as a sign of unfriendliness. Rival  
political factions sometimes wear different ḙ-yàsèbí  
at certain festivities, each trying to outdo the other  
in singing and dancing.

### § .43 Food and Drink

## OKU

## TEMNE

ògìrì Preparation used as co  
condiment. (SY. ògìrì)

k-ìrì (as for Krio)

àkàrà Cake fried from bean  
flour. (SY. àkàrà)

kā-kàrà Cake fried from  
ground rice.

OKU

ṣm̃l̃é Illicitly distilled  
gin, made out of palm-  
wine and roots. (SY.  
ṣm̃l̃é Gin, lit. "the  
child is strong").

TEMNE

m̃-w̃m̃l̃é (as for Krio)

m̃-w̃m̃l̃é was possibly introduced through the Ojeh and Adikali societies, since their two aggressive masqueraders, à-gbàdógbàdó and à-tàlàbí respectively, are believed to get drunk on this gin before donning their costumes, this being the reason for their aggressiveness,

#### §.44 Social Relationships

OKU

yāwó Bride, married in  
church or mosque.  
(SY. iyāwo).

ṣsúsú<sup>1</sup> Mutual aid club,  
savings society.  
(SY. ṣsusu)

TEMNE

à-yāwó (as for Krio)

à-súsú (as for Krio)

Te. à-fàk, Contribution, is also used to denote Mutual aid society, although the loanword à-súsú is now more frequently used, à-fàk being now largely restricted to compulsory contributions, like à-thàks, Taxes (see           ).

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1. See W. Bascom, 'The Esusu: a credit institution of the Yoruba', Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, LXXXI, 1952.

## CHAPTER NINE

### 9. PORTUGUESE LOANWORDS

#### 9.1 Introduction

The Portuguese reached the West African coast in the mid-fifteenth century, Sierra Leone<sup>1</sup> being the first sighted in 1446 by a Portuguese expedition under Alvaro Fernandes.<sup>2</sup> Accounts written by Portuguese travellers in the first decade of the sixteenth century mention Temne and Bullom as 'the languages of Sierra Leone'.<sup>3</sup> The earliest fort erected by Europeans in Sierra Leone was built by the Portuguese between 1482-95, at a site near present-day Tagrin Point, once Bullom but now largely Temne territory. Contact between the Portuguese and the Temne and Bullom may therefore be considered as having been established on a significant scale before the end of the fifteenth century.

9.1.1 As Portuguese activity increased on the West African

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1. The Portuguese gave the Peninsular the name 'serra lyoa', meaning Lion Mountains, thinking the high mountains, rising suddenly from the coast, looked like wild lions. This name has become 'Sierra Leone' over the centuries.
  2. A.P.Kup, A History of Sierra Leone, 1400-1787, Cambridge, 1961, p.1.
  3. D.P.Pereira, Esmeraldo de situ orbis (ed. by Kimble), Hakluyt Society, London, 1937, pp.95-9; Valentim Fernandes, Description de la côte occidentale d'Afrique (ed. by T. Monod, A. Teixeira da Mota, R. Mauny), Bissao, 1951, pp.81-97.

coast, their language came to serve as a trade language between the Portuguese and their African contacts as well as between Africans speaking different languages.<sup>1</sup> The Portuguese tried to overcome the difficulties of communication by employing Africans as interpreters, and according to Cadamosto, in the 1450's, 'each of our ships had negro interpreters on board, brought from Portugal'.<sup>2</sup> Africans were taken by force or persuasion to be 'interrogated by the many negro interpreters to be found in Portugal'.<sup>3</sup> The Portuguese-derived trade language spoken along the West African coast was known to Africans even before they left West Africa for the Americas.<sup>4</sup> The actual form of such a 'pidgin' may have varied considerably in vocabulary, with each area using their own local words to describe specific items.<sup>5</sup> The extent and result of these early contacts between

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1. Marius F. Valkhoff, Studies in Portuguese and Creole, with special reference to S. Africa, Johannesburg, 1966; A.T. Von S. Bradshaw, 'Vestiges of Portuguese in the languages of Sierra Leone', African Language Review, 4, 1965, pp. 5-37.
  2. The Voyages of Cadamosto (English Translation), ed. by G.R. Crone, Hakluyt Society, London, 1937, ch. 35 p. 55.
  3. Cadamosto, ch. 50 p. 84.
  4. D. Taylor, 'The origin of West Indian Creole Languages', American Anthropologist, LXV, 1936, p. 802.
  5. A possible lexical item of this Portuguese 'pidgin' as used in the sixteenth century in the Sierra Leone area appears in a word list collected by Fernandes. The word kangreverde which he glosses as 'Snake, looks yellow, no remedy' appears to have been derived from Te. a-kanre, Greenish yellow mamba, very poisonous, + P. verde, Green.

the Portuguese and the peoples of the Upper Guinea Coast are reflected in the number of Portuguese loanwords which despite the decline of Portuguese influence in this area since the middle of the seventeenth century, have survived in several West African Languages, including Temne.<sup>1</sup>

~~BNWNB~~ Portuguese-derived words were fully established in Temne when Schlenker was compiling his dictionary,<sup>2</sup> although he failed to identify most of them as being of Portuguese origin. His will to record the origin of words is borne out by his attributing some of them to 'Mandingo', German, Arabic, and English, 'pesa' (à -pésà Large gun) being the only word he correctly attributes to Portuguese, however. Two possible explanations for his failure to identify words of Portuguese origin may be advanced:

- 1) His knowledge of Portuguese was undoubtedly limited,
- 2) The words had had several centuries to become assimilated into Temne, making it difficult for him to suspect their foreign origin.

9.12 Despite the early and long contacts between the Temne and the Portuguese, surviving loanwords from Portuguese into Temne are restricted largely to one area, trade, reflecting the objects and method of trade that existed between the Portuguese and the Temne. The objects of trade included arms and armaments, artefacts and household utensils, while some of the methods of trade included ambushing and waylaying, i.e. for procuring slaves. There is no Portuguese-derived word in Temne referring to units of money although a generic term still occurs (à -kíbèr, Coin). The reason for this may be that trade was mainly through

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1. cf. the words Gun, Powder in Koelle, Polyglotta Africana London, 1854, p. 68f.

2. C.F. Schlenker, An English-Temne Dictionary, London, 1880.

a system of barter and exchange, the Portuguese paying with goods like guns, saws, and beads, and the Temne supplying produce like rice, hides, wax, slaves and elephants' tusks.<sup>1</sup> It is also likely that the Portuguese used the containers in which their goods were brought as units of measurements, a function which most such containers perform up to the present.

9.13 There are also Portuguese loanwords in Temne for certain plants and foodstuffs, their presence in this and other West African languages being one of the main criteria for the often repeated assertion that the foodstuffs and plants designated by these words were actually introduced by the Portuguese.<sup>2</sup> This assertion cannot, however, be supported on linguistic evidence alone and, as Bradshaw himself ~~co~~<sup>con</sup>cedes, some terms (like kà-blây, Basket ) that have been borrowed from Portuguese into Temne may not have represented new industries<sup>but</sup> / probably ~~representing~~ 'a new style' of the objects. What is even more probable is that some of these words, instead of 'new styles' or 'new industries' were merely 'new names' for objects already in existence among the Temne

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1. M.A.Nunes, 'D.António e o Trato Inglês da Guine (1587-93)' ~~Quarta~~ Boletim Cultural da Guine Portuguesa, VIlll (1953) pp.683-797.
  2. Bradshaw assumes this throughout his paper 'Vestiges of Portuguese in the Languages of Sierra Leone' op.cit. See also F.Willet, 'The introduction of Maize into West Africa: An assesment of the recent evidence', Africa XXXI: XXXI,1(1962), pp.1-13, and R.Mauny 'Notes historique autour des principales plantes cultivées d'Afrique' occidentale', IFAN Bulletin XV (1953), pp.684-730.



before the arrival of the Portuguese. In the contacts between Europeans and Africans, the burden of communication has largely fallen on the African<sup>1</sup> and the adoption of Portuguese-derived words in Temne may be early instances in which African discarded indigenous terms for European ones.<sup>2</sup> The occurrence of a loanword in Temne from a European language does not therefore always mean that the object designated by the word was also introduced by the speakers of the donor language.

1. David Dalby, Black through White: Patterns of Communication, Hans Wolff Memorial Lecture, Indiana University. In this paper, Dr. Dalby has traced the historical causes for and the present-day significance of this phenomenon.
2. The word for Cassava in Temne, à-yókâ borrowed from Portuguese 'yuca' is a case in point. It should be noted this Portuguese-derived word occurs only in coastal languages in West Africa, the rest of the other languages having indigenous words for cassava (see Koelle Polyglotta Africana, pp. 110ff.). It is possible that these people on the coast (including the Temne and Bullom) who were acquainted <sup>with</sup> the Portuguese 'pidgin' then spoken in this area, discarded indigenous words that once existed for this commodity, adopting the more prestigious (and more advantageous economically) Portuguese 'pidgin' form. Similar arguments could be advanced for à-mákà Carrying hammock, è-fàríyà, Cassava flour, The Portuguese-derived -fín, Fine, Beautiful, Good, also helps to illustrate this point. Similarly, because of the influence of Krio, Temne speakers, especially in Freetown, only very rarely use the Te. kà-wòthó, Baboon, preferring the Krio-derived kè-bàbú. cf. also English Krio-derived fwóràk 7.415.

9.222 Phonological Correspondences between Modern  
Portuguese and Temne (in loanwords from Portuguese)

9.221 Consonants (non-differential)

Only one example is cited in the cases of a one to one correspondence, with two or three examples where possible, for differential correspondences. Portuguese examples, in normal orthography, are quoted first.

b:b

<sup>l</sup>banco Bench

à-bánkò (as for Port.)

p:p

<sup>l</sup>pipa Cask

à-pípà (as for Port.)

k:k

<sup>l</sup>camisa Shirt

à-kàmisa Imported shirt

f:f

<sup>l</sup>fino Fine, beautiful

-finò (as for Port.)

s:s

<sup>l</sup>serra Saw

à-sé'rá (as for Port.)

m:m

<sup>l</sup>lima File

à-limà (as for Port.)

n:n

anahas Pineapple

`a-nanâs (as for Port.)

l:l

`vela Sail

`a-bélá (as for Port.)

r:r

`serra Saw

`a-sí'rá (as for Port.)

9.222 Consonants (differential)

t:th

estopa Oakum

`e-thópa (as for Port.)

corrente Current, chain

k-`rínthà Metal chain

d:th

`vidro Bottle, glass

`a-bíthrà (as for Port.)

`cidro Citron

`a-síthrà (as for Port.)

g:k

`ganhar Profit

`a-kána Profit, savings

v:b

`vela Sail

`a-bélá (as for Port.)

`vidro Bottle, glass

`a-bíthrà (as for Port.)

z:s

<sup>l</sup>mesa Table

à -mísa (as for Port.)

tesouras Scissors

à-tísir (as for Port.)

9.223 Vowel Correspondences (non-differential)

a:a

canfora Camphour

k-afúra (as for Port.)

i:i

<sup>l</sup>vidro Bottle, glass

à-bíthrà (as for Port.)

:

<sup>l</sup>forca Strength

à-fósò (as for Port.)

u:u

canfora Camphour

k-afúra (as for Port.)

9.224 Vowel Correspondences (differential)

The following vowels occur in unstressed syllables  
in the Portuguese forms :

ə:a

<sup>l</sup>vela Sail

à -bélá (as for Port.)

<sup>l</sup>mesa Table

à -mísa (as for Port.)

escada Ladder

à-kádà Wooden ladder bridge

ə:i

tesouras Scissors

à-tísir (as for Port.)

<sup>l</sup>pote Jug, pitcher

à-póthi Mug

u:0

cobrar Ask for payment

=kóprá (as for Port.)

corrente Current, chain

k-òrénthà Metal chain

fino Fine, beautiful

-fínò (as for Port.)

### 9.23 Tonal Correspondence

Each Portuguese lexical item has one main syllabic stress and it is the position of this stressed syllable that influences the tone pattern of the borrowed word in Temne.

### 9.231 Monosyllables

There is only one monosyllabic item borrowed into Temne from Portuguese;

P. pão Bread

kə-pòŋ (as for Port.)

### 9.232 Disyllables

Disyllabic nominal stems with

- 1) the first syllable stressed in Portuguese are borrowed into Temne as HL:

<sup>l</sup> ganhar Profit	ʔ-ká'ná Profit, savings
<sup>l</sup> mesa Table	ʔ-mé'sà (as for Port.)
<sup>l</sup> pesa Cannon	ʔ-pé'sà Large gun

- 2) the second syllable stressed in Portuguese are borrowed ~~in Portuguese~~ into Temne as LF:

(The examples cited here, even though in the spelling orthography appear as trisyllables, they are in fact realised as disyllables)

anahas Pineapple	-nanas (as for Port.)
pelota Pellet	-pilor (as for Port.)
papaiya Pawpaw	k--papay (as for Port.)

Disyllabic verbal stems with

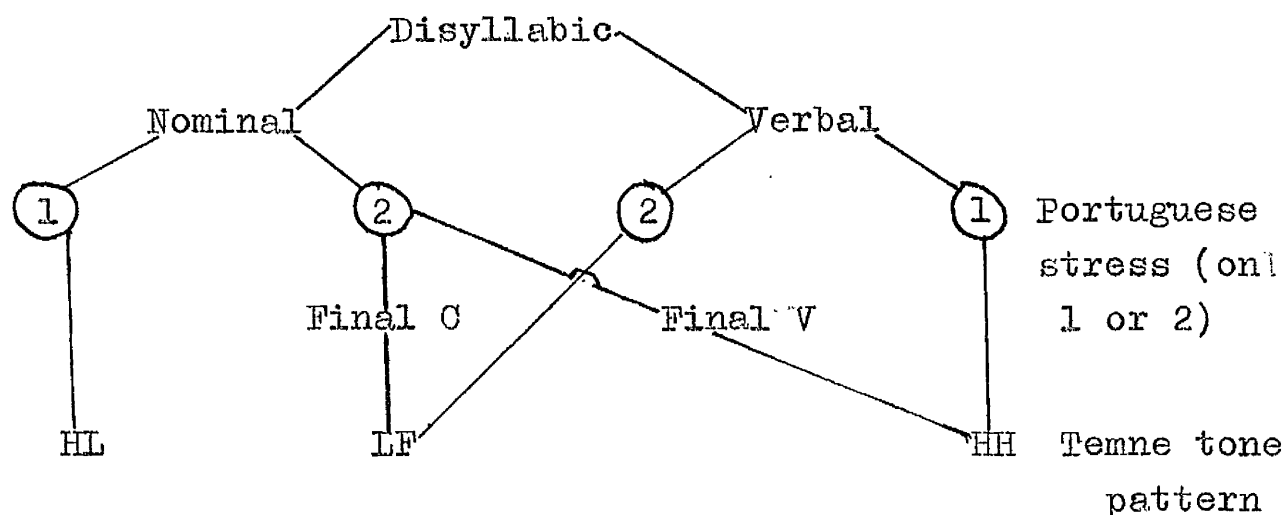
1) the first syllable stressed in Portuguese  
are borrowed into Temne as HH:

'cobrar Ask for payment	=kóprá (as for Port.)
'panhar Grab s.o.	=pányá Grab, waylay, ambush
'correr Call together	=kuré (as for Port.)

2) the second syllable stressed in Portuguese  
are borrowed into Temne as LF:

sal'gar Salt	=salkâr (as for Port.)
tou'car Dress hair	=tiskâr Have a hair cut
bar'car Grab s.o.	=bêrkâr (as for Port.)

The following chart is a summary of the Disyllabic Tonal Correspondences between Portuguese and Portuguese-derived loanwords in Temne.



Five trisyllabic nominal stems, all with a LHL tone pattern  
are borrowed into Temne from Portuguese:

camisa Shirt	k-âkânisâ Imported shirt
corrente Current, chain	k-rântha Chain
canfora Camphour	k-âfurâ (as for Port.)
cacau Cacao	k-âkawo (as for Port.)
farinha Flour	â-fariya Cassava flour

## 9.24 Morphology

### 9.241 Nominals

Portuguese-derived nouns fall mainly under the  $A^1/E$  class pair (apart from four under  $K/T$ ) which mostly covers inanimate objects like trade goods for which the Temne have borrowed Portuguese words. Only ù-pòthò, European, falls under the human  $O^1/A^2$  class pair, reflecting the fact that the Portuguese introduced few new occupations. The term 'padre', Father, Religious priest, appears on the Temne word list of Fernandes (1510)<sup>1</sup>, and would no doubt have fallen under the  $O^1/A^2$  class pair had it survived in Temne.<sup>2</sup>

### 9.242 Verbal Stems

Out of six verbal stems borrowed from Portuguese into Temne, =kùré, Call together, takes no extension suffix, two take the instrumental ~â suffix:

=kâmpêr Surround

=kâmpêrâ Surround with

=bêrkâr Fall on

=bêrkârâ Fall on for

---

1. Fernandes op.cit. f 122v, f 123r

2. Even though Portuguese Jesuit missionaries were active in Sierra Leone in the sixteenth century, no Portuguese-derived word relating to religion has survived in Temne.



two, both ending in vowels, take the allomorph ~nê, of the ~â suffix, (used after stems ending in V except /i/ ):

=kóprá Ask for payment

=kòprânê Ask for payment on behalf of

=pányá Grab

=pányânê Grab for or with

one, =tiskár, Give a hair cut, takes both the ~â and the reflexive ~nê suffixes:

=tiskár Give a hair cut

=tiskârâ Give a hair cut for (s.o.) or with (an implement)

=tiskárnê Give oneself a hair cut.

### 9.3 Semantic Change

9.31 Majority of the Portuguese-derived items referring to specific goods and items of trade, have undergone no changes in meaning. Some, however, have had their meanings extended when borrowed into Temne, e.g.

ù-pòthò, see 9.41

-fínò, 9.46

Words whose meanings have been narrowed include,

à-mákà 9.47

kò-rínthà 9.45

é-fàríyà 9.49 .

9.32 Portuguese words are not being borrowed into Temne any longer, and those already <sup>in the language</sup> do not, because of the long period in which they have been part of the Temne lexicon, co-occur with indigenous synonyms. But, like many other words in Temne, both borrowed and indigenous, some Portuguese-derived words are now being replaced by English-derived loanwords, rendering them:

- a) obsolete, cf. 'à-mésà' Table, (Schlenker, s.v.)  
now replaced by à-thébùl (ex. Krio tebul, Table),
- b) archaic, cf.

kò-pàg Bread, now being replaced by kò-brêd

à-bánkò Bench, now being replaced by à-bênt

à-kàmísà Shirt now being replaced by à-sô-t

- c) doublets, co-occurring with English-derived terms, cf.

à-póthí/à-kôp Cup

é-thópà/é-wòkám Oakum

à-líma/à-fâyí File

#### 9.4 Semantic Categories

##### 9.41 'Portuguese'

###### PORTUGUESE

Portuguez, Portuguese

###### TEMNE

ù-pòthò (obs. u-pothoki) White  
person, educated African, one  
who has adopted the west-  
ern way of life; mulatto  
ù-pòthòferâ ( -pòthò + Te. ferâ  
White) Light-skinned  
African

-pòthò (adj.) Fine, good looking  
(in reference to plants,  
produce and animals),

~~kà-pòthò~~ imported

kà-pòthò English language and/or  
Krio

mà-pòthò English or western man-  
ners or ways, anti-social  
behaviour

ró-póthò Whiteman's land

The use of ù-pòthò for one who has adopted a western way

of life, a mulatto, and a light-skinned African is perjorative. A mulatto does not feel insulted, on the other hand, when referred to by the Krio derived term ù-màláthà<sup>1</sup>.

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1. Bradshaw wrongly derives the term à-múlàth, Albino, from the Portuguese or Spanish 'mulato'; in the list of languages for which he gives the forms for mulatto, only the Krio form could be satisfactorily derived from Portuguese. Bullom múlàth and Temne à-múlàth, which he cites as meaning Mulatto, in fact mean Albino, Temne having borrowed ù-màláthà and ù-kàkíkóla from Krio for a Mulatto.

-pòthò as an adjective contrasts juicy large fruits and well bred animals with dry and thin ones,<sup>1</sup> e.g.

à-tó'kó ú-pòthò Large well bred cock

à-thàmbá á-pòthò Large juicy tomato

-pòthò is also used in reference to imported European goods in contrast to locally produced ones e.g.

kà-tála Hoe; but kà-tála kà-pòthò, Imported hoe

This use of -potho is different from that in relation to plants and animals, where an animal or plant may be described as -pòthò without necessarily being imported.

Among the actions considered anti-social<sup>2</sup> and termed

- 
1. Note that the adjective -fínò, Good, fine, is not used to refer to such fruits and animals.
  2. The following song to tease people accused of mò-pòthò illustrates the Temne attitude to this style of life:

o ma-potho

Oh western ways

a gay ay éi

While others eat

a gay ay yir

Others only sit round

ay káli mu táy

Staring hungrily

pa lap ɔ-th n

A little, old man

ma rin madiɛ mu

One handful will not kill

tey ma-potho

Stop being western

tey ra-dir

Stop being greedy

mā-pòthò are,

- 1) living a secluded life,
- 2) exchanging abrupt greetings and not stopping for a chat,
- 3) not calling to visit other people,
- 4) eating alone without inviting others.

#### 9.42 Money and Payment

PORTUGUESE	TEMNE
'ganho Profit, earnings	'à-kána Savings, profit, treasure collection of ornaments ( like beads, trinkets)
'cobre Copper, coin	'à-kópèr Coin (now rare)
'cobrar Collect, regain, receive	=k'oprá Collect payment of debt, ask for such payment

→ 'à-kána occurs more frequently in the sense of Savings, treasure. The English-derived 'à-kên, Gain, profit (see 7. ) has largely taken the sense of Profit, and the use of 'à-kána in this sense is now restricted to older speakers of Temne.

'à-kópèr is the only term referring to money that has survived in Temne from Portuguese, strengthening the suggestion that the trade with the Portuguese was mainly through a system of barter, exchange of money being minimal. It may be argued that units of money borrowed from Portuguese may have been replaced by English-derived ones when <sup>the</sup> English gained ascendancy over the Portuguese

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1. cf. Krio kópè, Money and Te. à-vánkópè Halfpenny 7.493

in West Africa. Even if this had been so, one would expect to find traces of the earlier Portuguese terms in the objects used as units of measurement but often designated by their value.<sup>1</sup>

Selling on credit is a popular method of trade in Sierra Leone, in which a local petty-trader supplies goods to a customer, collecting his payment afterwards. This form of trading was used by Portuguese traders who left goods like bracelets with their customers on a previous visit, collecting payment, =kóprá, in the form of slaves, tusks or other forms of produce on their next visit.<sup>2</sup>

- 
1. In Sierra Leone, for example, even though the use of pounds, shillings and pence ended with the change of currency in 1964 to Leones and cents, certain objects used as units of measurement are unlikely ever to lose their names derived from the old currency, e.g.

à-pànpàni (E. pan + penny), 7.495, Small tin container used for measuring produce valued at a penny in the old currency, and one and a half cents in the new,

à-sìlin (E. shilling), One shilling (now rare); a type of cooking pot which cost one shilling. This latter use is retained to describe any medium-sized pot, whatever its cost in the new currency.

2. M.A. Nunes, 'D. Antonio e o Trato Ingles da Guine (1587-93)', Costa in Boletim Cultural da Guine Portuguesa, VI11 (1953), pp. 683-797.

## 9.43 Containers, Units of Measurement

PORTUGUESE	TEMNE
l'pipa Cask, barrel	à -pìpà (as for Port.)
balaiio Basket, hamper	kà-blây Basket, container made of reeds, leaves or cane
l'vidro Bottle, glass	à -bìthrà <sup>1</sup> Bottle, glass
pote Jug, jar, pitcher, pot	à -póthí Drinking cup, mug

These items are used both as containers and as units of measurement in trade, especially for cola nuts, grains, cassava, groundnuts and potatoes. Oil is measured in bottles, à-bìthrà, the value being determined by the size of the container.<sup>2</sup> The: langue Susu, IFAN, Dakar 1963, p.45. imprecise and 2. cf. à-pâynt, 7.4 started trading. cf. à-búsèl, à-pànpíni, à-yâd and à-pâ under measuring goods. 4. Bradshaw, op.cit. p.26

Bradshaw<sup>4</sup> derives Te. -kítul from Portuguese 'quintal', Measure of weight. The Temne word is in fact derived from Kr. Bradshaw<sup>4</sup> derives Te. -kítul from Portuguese 'quintal', an Measure of weight. The Temne word is in fact derived from poKrio (English 'kettle') kitul, with which it has both tonal in Temne since the Portuguese word is accented on the second syllable (see 9.232).

- 
1. Houis wrongly derives the Susu bitrè, Bottle, from English 'bitter'; it is in fact, like the Temne word, derived from Portuguese. See Maurice Houis, Etude descriptive de la langue Susu, IFAN, Dakar 1963, p.45.
  2. cf. à-pâynt, 7.4
  3. cf. à-búsèl, à-pànpíni, à-yâd and à-pâ under 7.494
  4. Bradshaw, op.cit. p.26



## 9.44 Arms and Armaments

PORTUGUESE	TEMNE
espingarda Gun	à-pìnkâr (as for Port.)
estopa Oakum, caulking	è-thópà Oakum
fibre	
pelota Ball, bullet	à-pilôr Bullet
pesa Heavy artillery	à-písà Large derelict gun
polvora Gunpowder	à-pópà (as for Port.)

Arms and armaments were an essential part of trade, and it is significant that even though English-derived words are replacing, or at least co-occur with, Portuguese-derived words, the words for Gun, à-pìnkâr, Gunpowder, à-pópà, and Bullet, à-pilôr, still remain free of any. But even more interesting is the fact that though Portuguese has supplied the terms for <sup>firearms</sup> ~~armaments~~, the word súth, Shoot, is borrowed from English and not from Portuguese. Even if a Portuguese-derived form existed in this meaning in Temne, it probably went out of use before the middle of nineteenth century, since Schlenker<sup>1</sup> does not record such an item. The variant è-wòkém (E. oakum) co-occurs with è-thópà.

à-písà is applied only to refer to derelict guns as at Bunce Island<sup>2</sup> which for a long time was a Portuguese fort, modern large artillery being referred to as à-màsínkôn, (E. machine gun).

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1. Schlenker, op.cit.

2. See f.n. p.

## 9.45 Artefacts

PORTUGUESE	TEMNE
corrente Current, metal chain	k-òrínthà Metal chain
líma File	à-líma (as for Port.) =líma (vb.)
serra Saw	à-sé'ra (as for Port.) =sírá (vb.)
tesouras Scissors	à-tísér Scissors
chave Key	à-sápò (as for Port.)
banco Bench	à-bánkò (as for Port.)

The English-derived kè-tèn (necklace, bracelet) also means a metal chain, but used as an ornament, k-òrínthà now only referring to a chain used for tying and pulling objects. One application of k-òrínthà, probably going back to the slave trade, which has been retained is the phrase =gbàk k-òrínthà, literally, Hang a chain. This involves hanging a special kind of chain round an insolvent debtor's neck, the chain only being removed when the debtor has performed some duty either for the Chief or the creditor, thus regaining his freedom.

à-tísér co-occurs with the English-derived à-sísâs, and a convergence between the two terms has produced à-sísér, all three items co-occurring without any semantic distinction.

Bradshaw considers the derivation of Te. à-sápò from Portuguese 'chave' anomalous in his list, suggesting its exclusion. The derivation is in fact valid, there being phonological correspondences between Portuguese and Temne (see 9.222).

à-bánkò is now rare, the English-derived à-bânt having largely taken its place.

# 9.46 Attributes (of goods and people?) and Hair Style

PORTUGUESE	TEMNE
'fino Fine, thin	-fínò Good, beautiful, kind; careful
'forca Strength, force, energy, power	`à-fósò (as for Port.)
toucar Comb, dress hair	=tiskâr Cut hair roughly with scissors (often as form of identification)

-fínò, the most widely used loanword from Portuguese in Temne, will have been used frequently in the trading context, with Portuguese traders advertising their goods as 'fino' and insisting on receiving goods of similar quality in exchange. -fínò has almost certainly replaced an indigenous item, and takes no extension suffix, unlike its antonym, the indigenous -lâs, Bad, ugly, wicked.

-lâs Bad, ugly, wicked

=lâsâ Go bad, become ugly or wicked

=lâsâr Spoil, make ugly, give a bad name to

=lâsârnê Harm oneself, ruin one's chances

By analogy, the indigenous starred form \*-thés may be reconstructed, which appears to have been replaced by -fínò and to have survived only in extension forms:

\*-thés Good, beautiful, kind

=thésâ Become good, beautiful, kind

=thésîr Make good, beautify

=thésîrnê Beautify oneself

`à-fósò may have been used in <sup>the</sup> slave trade, as <sup>the</sup> Portuguese certainly desired 'strong' slaves. `à-fósò is now the generic term for Power, strength in Temne, ~~the~~ English-derived `à-pawà and `à-trînk, having been borrowed subsequently to refer specifically to political or secular power and physical strength respectively.

Though the two English-derived words are mutually exclusive, they may each be replaced by à-fóssò e.g.

ó-bà y ò bá á-páwà (or à-fóssò) The chief is powerful  
but, ó-bà y ò bá á-trânk (or à-fóssò) The chief is physically strong.

An indigenous phrase =bàk tá-bánth, lit. Have strong bones, may be substituted for à-trânk in the second example, but there is no indigenous item that could be substituted for either à-páwà or à-fóssò in the first example.

=tiskâr is still used as a form of identification (or even punishment) for petty criminals, although the more drastic mè-gbànáńkó<sup>1</sup> is replacing this method. =báb (E. barb) refers to a normal haircut.

- 
1. cf. 5.49. Head-shavings and styles of haircut form a common method of social identification among the Temne and other Sierra Leonean ethnic groups. Apart from mè-gbànáńkó and =tiskâr, there is the custom of shaving the head completely only leaving a small tuft on the top of the head as identification for a young Koranic student, ù-kàràńdé (3.441); a thin line of hair left near the ears with the rest of the head shaved indicates an advanced student, and a totally shaven head indicates a teacher, ù-kàrmók (3.441). Among the Limba and Kuranko, plaited hair indicates an uncircumcised boy, with a special kind of hairstyle for an uncircumcised girl.

## 9.47 Travel and Transport

PORTUGUESE	TEMNE
escada Steps, ladder	`à-kádà Ladder-like bridge made of wood
amaca Hammock	`à-mákà Hammock for carrying chiefs and other dignitaries, including Europeans
vela Sail	`à-bélá Sail (esp. on Bulom boats)
via Way, channel	kè-bíyá Narrow, shallow stream
viagem Journey	`à-biyâs (as for Port.)

Two other words occur for a bridge, apart from `à-kádà; `à-thárô is the indigenous word referring to a bridge, and the English-derived `à-brík, 7.4, refers to a concrete bridge. The occurrence of these terms, all mutually exclusive, gives an idea of the development of bridge building among the Temne, starting with the stick bridge, `à-thárô, then the wooden ladder bridge, `à-kádà, and finally the modern cement bridge, `à-brík.

The indigenous term for hammock, `à-thínthâ, is used to refer to a carrying for a sick person or for other people as a means of transport; but is referred to only as `à-mákà when it is used by a chief or, during colonial times, by a European. Bradshaw asserts without sufficient evidence that there is little doubt that the hammock was introduced into Africa by the Portuguese, but he unfortunately fails to investigate further his observation that 'it is odd that the loanword <sup>refers</sup> only to the carrying hammock in all the

languages quoted except Krio'.<sup>1</sup> This can be explained by the fact that the Portuguese referred to the hammock which they probably used as a means of transport in West Africa by their word 'maca', which the Temne (and other Africans) borrowed to refer only to the kind of hammock which the Portuguese were familiar with in Africa, i.e. the carrying hammock. à -mákà is used less frequently now, chiefs using a carrying hammock only for ceremonial occasions.

à -bélá is used by the small 'Bullom' boats which cross the Sierra Leone River and which ply along the Bullom coast.<sup>2</sup>

The word à -bì yàs has become the generic term for Journey. It probably entered Temne from the short trips the earliest Portuguese made inland, carried either on à -mákà or going up by boats through the water channels, kè -bíyá (cf. à -trék, 7.4 E.trek', Journey made inland by an administrator).

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1. Bradshaw, op.cit. p.22. The Krio amákà is derived from ~~from~~ English 'hammock'. The phoneme /h/ does not occur in older Krio words, and adding vowel endings to words that end in a consonant in English is a feature of many early Krio words e.g. dedi, Dead, yári, Hear, frédi Afraid.

2. The Bullom were on the coast at the time of the arrival of the Portuguese and today Bullom has more Portuguese loanwords than any other Sierra Leonean language.

9.48 Gathering and Seizing (of people and animals)

PORTUGUESE	TEMNE
acorrer <sup>1</sup> Call hastily together	=kúré <sup>1</sup> Call together, esp. of children for the purpose of work and play
abarcar <sup>1</sup> Monopolise, embrace, grab	=bèrkâr <sup>1</sup> Grab, fall on s.o. or s.t. suddenly
apanhar <sup>1</sup> Catch, grasp, seize	=panyá <sup>1</sup> Grab, ambush
campar <sup>1</sup> Encircle, fence, camp	=kâmpâr <sup>1</sup> Encircle, fence

=kúré is considered an insulting method of calling people together, since it involves shouting out at them and is largely restricted to children or one's subordinates.

The words in this section are probably a clue as to how unwilling slaves were obtained, involving ambush and being forced to the ships. Similar methods are still used to press-gang unwilling members into the Poro society. =panyá is, however, only rarely used now, while =bèrkâr and =kâmpâr are still common.

# 9.49 Food

PORTUGUESE	TEMNE
anãnas Pineapple	`à -nânâs (as for Port.)
'cidro Citron	`à -sithrâ (as for Port.)
fãrinha Flour (wheat)	`é -fãriyâ Cassava flour
almôco Lunch	m-é sâ Left-overs
pãpaia Pawpaw	kə-pápây (as for Port.)
yucca (16th. century form, correspond- ing to Modern Port. 'mandioca') Cassava	`à -yókâ Cassava
pão Bread	kə-p'ɔ̃ (as for Port.)

Even though the Temne word `é -fãriyâ is derived from the Portuguese for Flour, this term is not used to refer to wheat flour, the English-derived `à -fláwâ being used in this instance.

The form of the word m-é sâ, Left-overs, may be the result of a convergence between the archaic Temne loanword from Portuguese, `à -m-é sâ, Table, and the Portuguese word 'almoco' /almɔsɐ /. The serving of a meal (to Europeans) on a table



would have led to the frequent association of both words. The tone pattern of these words in Temne, however, indicates their different sources. à-mé-sà Table, is now known only to older speakers of Temne, the English-derived à-thébul occurring more frequently. kà-pò is also rare, having been largely replaced by kà-brêd ( E. Bread).

Bradshaw<sup>1</sup> includes the word 'banana' as of possible Portuguese derivation, stating that the possible African origin of the term 'banana is not convincing, since too many languages of varying affinities employ the root'.<sup>2</sup> Using the argument that Sao Tome was the main source of plants for the Portuguese settlements and that that fruit was called a 'banana' there by 1500, he concludes, 'it is obvious that any West African language which uses 'bana' or 'banana' or anything which may be regarded as an associated form may not have given it to the Portuguese but received it from them'. He does not take into account

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1. Bradshaw, op. cit., p. 32

2. The languages he lists are in fact not of 'widely varying affinities'; Mandinka, Kono, Koranko (all Manding) Susu, Mende, Loko (all S.W. Mande) are all members of the Mande group of languages, while Bullom, Krim, Gola and Temne are members of the Mel group.

the fact that even if the word existed in African languages long before 1500, the Africans had no system of writing to document it. Secondly, Manding was a source of lexical borrowing right across West Africa. The Manding word for Rice, maloo, for example, was already borrowed into Temne and recorded as such by Pereira in 1505<sup>1</sup>; the root 'banana' is thus more easily explained in Manding than in Portuguese terms.

#### 9.410 Clothing

PORTUGUESE	TEMNE
sá'pato Shoe	é-sámpathá Sandal-like footwear
ca'misa Shirt	a-kamisa Imported shirt( now rare)

The indigenous generic term for shoes is é-kófthé, é-sámpathá being used to refer to any footwear resembling sandals,

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1. Pereira, op. cit.